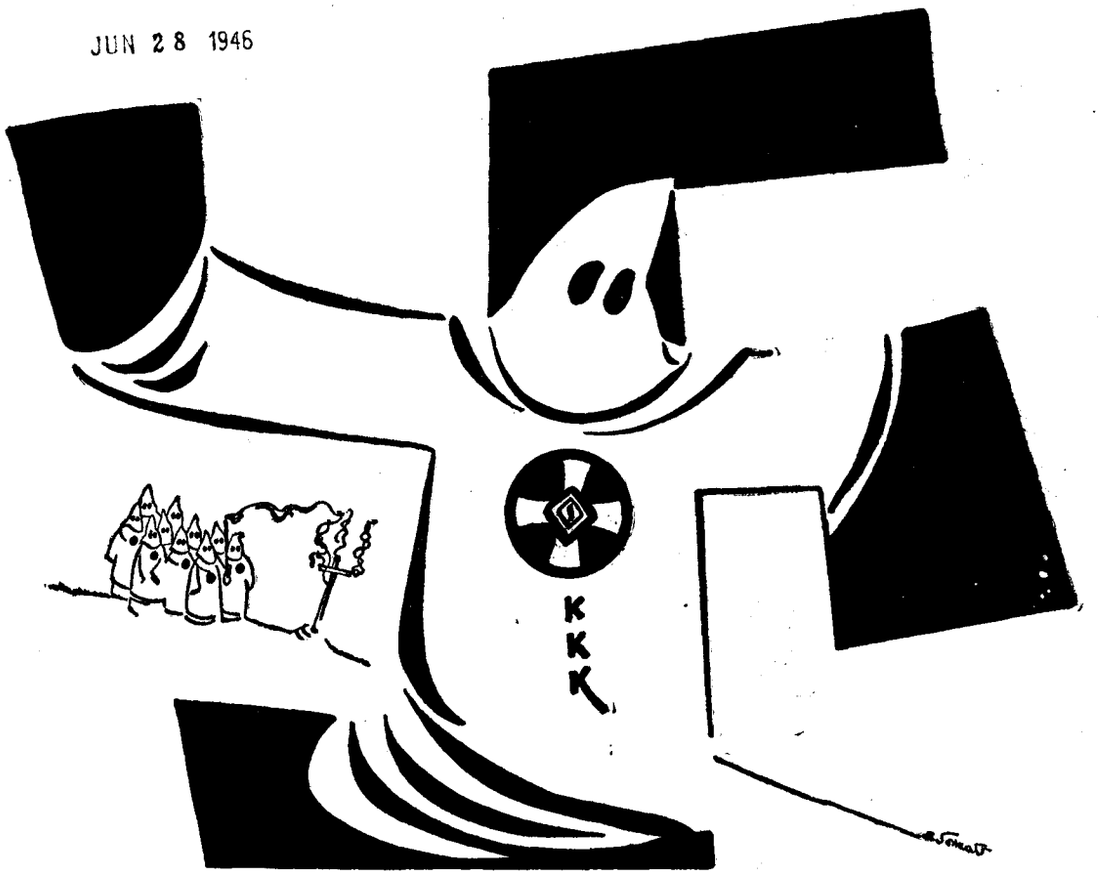
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
LIBRARIES

New Republic

July 1, 1946 · Fifteen Cents

JUN 28 1946



Are the Railroads Above the Law?

by Nathan Robertson

Two Articles on the Klan by Stetson Kennedy and Evelyn Crowell

The Greatest Guys in the World by Michael Straight

Ehrenburg on American Writers by Kathleen Louchheim

Britain, the Arabs and the Jews by R. H. S. Crossman

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Charles Scribner's Sons

announce the publication of

A Little Treasury of Modern Poetry

Edited, with an Introduction, by

OSCAR WILLIAMS

THIS AUTHORITATIVE COLLECTION of the best poems written during the past fifty years at last enables the general reader to have, in one convenient and readable volume, the poetry that has made the literary history of our time. It contains over four hundred poems, a richly complete representation of the major English and American poetry of the Twentieth Century, from the publication of A. E. Housman's *A Shropshire Lad* to the distinguished poetry published at the close of World War II. The great figures of modern poetry are well represented with fifteen poems by Gerard Manley Hopkins, fourteen by Robert Frost, twelve by W. H. Auden, twelve by W. B. Yeats, and ten by T. S. Eliot, including "The Waste Land," which Mr. Eliot has permitted to be used in a general anthology for the first time in twenty-five years. The finest short lyrics and well-known favorites by many other important poets, including the younger living poets, will also be found here. This variety and this inclusiveness of representation make the book indeed a treasury.

Attractive features include: a spirited light verse section and a portrait section of the poets, 64 portraits in all. Mr. Williams' Introduction alone would give the reader a genuine critical understanding of modern poetry, yet, like the entire contents of this rich little volume, it is pleasantly easy to read. Here is a book, for the living room, the library, and for your vacation. *Double buckram cover, gold top, reading ribbon, 672 pages, with index.* $2.75

Among the Contributing Poets:

Conrad Aiken	D. H. Lawrence
W. H. Auden	Vachel Lindsay
Louise Bogan	Archibald MacLeish
Robert Bridges	John Masefield
Rupert Brooke	Edna St. V. Millay
Hart Crane	Ogden Nash
E. E. Cummings	Wilfred Owen
Walter de la Mare	E. A. Robinson
Emily Dickinson	Marianne Moore
T. S. Eliot	Edith Sitwell
Robert Frost	Stephen Spender
Robert Graves	Wallace Stevens
G. M. Hopkins	Sara Teasdale
A. E. Housman	Elinor Wylie
Thomas Hardy	W. B. Yeats
Robinson Jeffers	*and others*

at all bookstores

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

STALINGRAD TODAY

EXCLUSIVE REPORT

SHATTERED walls . . . the ghosts of heroes wander through the rubbled avenues...at Number One Ulitza Lenina lives the Kuznetzov family... they are the only family, theirs is the only house, on Ulitza Lenina.... Just outside the city are the homes for the orphans of Stalingrad... there live the children whose parents died in the battle which broke the wave-crest of Nazism.

In 1942 Stalingrad was the headline city of all who hoped and prayed for the success of the United Nations. Today, Stalingrad, the "hero-city" of the Soviet Union, is a city of returned fighters, of people struggling to rebuild their former way of life. The problems of the people of Stalingrad dramatically highlight the problems being faced by the Soviet Union in its efforts to rebuild.

At the suggestion of the *New Republic*, Benjamin Waife, roving correspondent, flew to Stalingrad to write the city's story for our readers. His story, the story of the people of Stalingrad in the first summer after the war, is coming soon in the *New Republic*. The Editors recommend it as "must" reading.

Mail your subscription now to be sure of reading STALINGRAD, TODAY. Enclose $5 for one year or $1 for 13 weeks. (The price increases to $6 for one year or $1 for 10 weeks on July 1.)

THE NEW REPUBLIC
40 East 49th Street, New York 17, New York

Please enter my subscription. I enclose $5 or $1.

Name.....

Street and Number.....

City..... State.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOL. 114, NO. 26 NEW YORK, MONDAY, JULY 1, 1946 NUMBER 1648

The United Nations and Atomic Control

AMERICA'S PROPOSAL for the development of atomic energy under the United Nations is forceful and in accordance with the policy of a dynamic United Nations, in which the Anglo-American viewpoint predominates.

The Soviet government's proposal for the outlawing of atomic weapons through a treaty enforced only by nations is archaic and in accordance with the Soviet policy of maintaining the United Nations, in which the Soviet government is in a working minority, as a treaty between "equal and sovereign nations."

Peace will be maintained only if the United Nations itself emerges as a strong and independent force. From this point of view, the development of atomic energy under the United Nations is necessary. It does not demand the abolition of the veto power. On this issue we feel that both the American and the Russian reports are misleading and wrong.

It is nonsensical to talk, as Gromyko did in the UN Atomic Energy Commission, of treaties to outlaw the atomic bomb and to set up methods of protection and control under the Security Council, and at the same time to insist that the veto power of the principal signatories be retained "under any circumstances." This would be as useless as a business contract, involving the heaviest and most serious commitments on both sides, with the proviso that either party could cancel any or all parts of it without notice.

It may appear paradoxical, but it is not contradictory, to say that Baruch's demand for formal renunciation of the veto was equally nonsensical. It was gratuitous, because the question need never have been raised. What is desired for international control is a treaty which sets up a control authority and a control system. When talking of a treaty, it is unnecessary to talk of forbidding action to abrogate its sections at will. Because it is to be a treaty covering such a fiendishly dangerous weapon, and because of the nature of the authority which it creates and the techniques it must use for effective control, any serious, non-procedural violation of it would admit of only one construction—an intent to prepare for atomic war—and of only one subsequent action—preparation to overwhelm the violator by force.

A violation would thus be the exact equivalent of a veto, just as a veto could be construed only as notice that a violation was taking place. In the system of control contemplated by the Acheson-Lilienthal plan, one substantive violation—say the refusal of one nation to permit inspection by the international authority of a suspect plant or mine—would mean the nullification of the international agreement and control system. The next step would be a decision on another plane; namely, whether or not to go to war with the violator. This would be just as true whether or not the violating nation had the legal right to veto the proposed inspection.

Once a world agreement had been ratified and an Atomic Development Authority had been created, a nation would commit a violation only when it contemplated making war. Its refusal to permit an inspection would constitute just as certain a warning to the rest of the world, whether it was done "legally" under its veto rights or "illegally" in violation of the treaty provision for free inspection. In either case the action would be in violation of a treaty agreement. As a practical matter, nothing would be added to the surety of the treaty by a formal subscription to Baruch's shibboleth.

BARUCH'S PROPOSAL was not merely gratuitous; it was grossly harmful because it forced an issue which was not germane and which, considering Russia's attitude, could have only one conclusion. It violated every principle of good negotiating because it demanded Utopia as a condition precedent to discussing the steps necessary to reach it. Finally, it took the entire proceedings up a blind alley, away from, rather than toward, the vital task facing the United Nations.

The immediate and ultimate task is the preparation of a draft charter setting up in detail an international control authority. Then the draft must be analyzed and examined to determine what portions of it can be agreed to and whether they constitute an effective

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1946, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879

PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

safeguard against the use of atomic weapons. Until the delegates on the Atomic Energy Commission are willing to get to work on drawing up a charter, the problem will be hopeless and progress will be nil. It may be that the Soviet reply to the American proposal on the veto will serve to show Mr. Baruch the fruitlessness of wrangling over the veto, so that he and everyone else, including the USSR, can get down to business.

If this step is followed, the question then arises whether the charter provisions implicit in the Baruch plan—*i.e.*, the 14 points which follow the Acheson-Lilienthal report—and Gromyko's draft convention, are reconcilable or compromisable. If the goal of a strengthened United Nations, able to control atomic energy and prevent atomic warfare, is kept clearly in mind, the answer, unfortunately, is a flat and clear No. For the Russian proposal suggests that the Soviet Union either has no intention of agreeing to a useful plan to outlaw the bomb or else is simply not awake to the problems of international control of the atom.

The Soviet plan sounds something like the first, feeble, superficial gropings of various peace-minded Americans the day after the bomb fell on Hiroshima. In fact, it is close to the thinking of the Kellogg-Briand era. Since that time Americans, at least, have become somewhat more sophisticated about the atom. Their sophistication is due in large part to the Acheson-Lilienthal report. Besides proposing a positive program of its own, that report demolished, beyond hope of reconsideration, faith in the efficacy of any plan which does not provide for international ownership, operation and control of all "dangerous" elements in the process of nuclear fission.

The Soviet proposal simply does not touch upon this essential thought. It does not dismiss it; it just does not consider it as a possibility. Yet international ownership of uranium and thorium mines and of the plants which create or extract the potential explosives is the *sine qua non* of any agreement that is not merely Pollyannaism in diplomatic verbiage.

The Atomic Energy Commission, with or without the help of the USSR, must set to work drawing up a draft charter based on the Acheson-Lilienthal-Baruch 14 points. Then, when we have the USSR's comments on that charter, point by point and section by section, we shall know where we stand, either on the road to agreement or to an atomic-arms race.

Spain and the Soviet Veto

When Andrei Gromyko, acting for the Soviet Union, vetoed the United Nations compromise resolution on Spain, he was expressing Soviet determination that the Security Council and its veto power must be maintained at all costs. But at the same time he cut the ground from under the feet of a good many people who are fighting for a democratic Spain. His position has been called logical and realistic, but the veto can mean only that Moscow is more concerned about its own national interests than the infinitely broader cause of the Spanish people and democracy everywhere. The committee report was not a satisfactory one. Undoubtedly it could have been manipulated in the Assembly if the United States and Britain had their way. Yet it is doubtful that the Soviet veto came solely from that fact. It was the shifting of the problem from the Council, where the veto applies, to the Assembly, where it does not, that was responsible for the Russian action. The veto is important to the Russians. They look upon it as the sole safeguard against a ganging-up against them in the Assembly. Yet in the Spanish case they carried their fears to the absurd length of pulling American and British chestnuts out of the fire. For neither Washington nor London was in the least anxious for the Spanish case to be carried to the Assembly.

Actually the veto was not imperiled. If it could survive Gromyko's abstention from the vote creating the investigating committee, it could equally have survived an abstention on passing the Spanish resolution to the Assembly. What happened was that neither Washington nor London was rebuffed. Ambassador Lange of Poland and Foreign Minister Evatt of Australia were. Both of these men feel just as strongly about Franco as Gromyko does and both of them were desperately anxious to keep Franco on the griddle as long as there was any hope of doing something about him. The Russians have reason enough to be suspicious of the intentions of reactionary governments everywhere. But there is no use pretending that there is a vacuum between them and the rest of the wicked capitalist world. There are a lot of people in between who have no desire to be pushed into the arms of reaction nor any intention of blindly accepting Soviet logic or rigidity. Moscow can ignore these people if it wishes, but it is a stupid policy at best.

Power Lobbies Aren't News

An example of what does not make news in our big, respectable newspapers was shown one day last week. Senators Murray (D, Mont.), Aiken (R, Vt.) and Hill (D, Ala.) occupied the Senate floor for several hours giving factual, detailed accounts of the activities of the revived electric-utility lobby. They cited chapter and verse. Senator Murray offered a resolution calling for a congressional investigation. Senator Aiken read a list of newspapers that had printed a "canned" editorial, prepared by the utility lobby, attacking the proposed St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. The speeches by the three Senators were the first on the Senate floor exposing the Insull-type activities of the postwar lobby.

When the Senators finished, Senator Eastland (D, Miss.) presented his plan for "unpacking" the Supreme Court. Bulletins were sent out by the press services, and the special correspondents representing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the larger newspapers got busy. Most of them knew that Eastland's proposal would never be seriously considered, but it was an attack on the New Deal court, and that is news any day in the week. The next morning the Eastland story was page-one news in the New York *Times*, the New York *Herald Tribune*, the Baltimore *Sun* and the Washington *Post*. The Baltimore Sun gave it an eight-column banner on page one, and its story ran 22½ inches. The *Herald Tribune* printed 27 inches; the *Times*, 21; and the *Post*, 17½. Not one of those papers even mentioned the fact that Senators Hill, Aiken and Murray spoke. The only place we found a story about the attack on the power lobby was in the Chicago *Sun*. It carried a 10-inch story from the Washington bureau. On the same page with the lobby story was a six-inch United Press story on the Eastland proposal. We submit that the Chicago *Sun* showed proper news judgment.

Big Business Gets Bigger

ALMOST completely ignored by the press, the Senate Small Business Committee issued a report last week that shows an alarming trend. The report, prepared by the late Smaller War Plants Corporation and bearing the title, "Concentration and World War II," makes the flat statement, based on a wealth of evidence, that "The relative importance of big business, particularly the giant corporations, increased sharply during the war, while the position of small business declined." The main factors leading to increased concentration during the war are the distribution of prime contracts, the allocation of materials, the distribution of new facilities, both government and privately built, the distribution of publicly financed research and the patent rights coincidental thereto; and the report points out that the merger movement, which is always a barometer of the trend toward concentration, has also accelerated during the war.

As to research, the report states that "In the long run the concentration of economic power may be greatly strengthened as a result of this centralization of research."

As to new facilities:

> The effect of the war on economic concentration will probably hinge more on the disposition and use of the war-built facilities than on anything else. In so far as the privately financed facilities are concerned, concentration will undoubtedly be increased, since the bulk of these facilities were acquired by big business. Furthermore, a considerable portion of the government-owned facilities will inevitably be acquired by big business, since they are scrambled in with their existing plant and equipment and cannot possibly be operated by any other firms. In many cases these scrambled facilities nicely round out their capacity for peacetime production.

If further proof were needed to emphasize the compelling points of this SWPC report, it came last week in the approval by the Attorney General of the sale of the giant Geneva Steel plant to the giant U. S. Steel Corporation. Several weeks ago the *New Republic* maintained that such approval would violate anti-trust laws, Section 20 of the Surplus Property Act, Regulation 10 of the War Assets Administration itself, and would strangle the development of the West. The Attorney General gave his consent to the transaction

INVESTIGATE THE POWER LOBBY NOW

BY SENATOR JAMES E. MURRAY

(Whose resolution calling for investigation of the power lobby is now awaiting action by the Senate Military Affairs Committee.)

1. *The power lobby is at its height of corruptness and influence.* – Never before have so many billions been spent and such vicious falsehoods disseminated in the attempt to protect special privileges and throttle the will of the people. The proposal and rejection of 82 anti-lobby bills in the last 40 years has served only to fortify this closely knit conspiracy of monied interests.

2. *The power lobby is trying to block the industrialization of underdeveloped areas of the nation.* – By opposing the extension of multiple-purpose power projects like the TVA, appropriation of funds for power-transmission lines and effective operation of the Holding Company Act, they hope to nullify the mandate of the people that federal power should not be monopolized. This is direct sabotage of the coöperative efforts of the people to distribute low-cost power, conserve and develop natural resources, open up new industrial regions for private enterprise, raise living standards and lend new life and vigor to democracy. It is an attempt to perpetuate poverty and feudalism.

3. *The unfair tactics of the power lobby are undermining the honesty and effectiveness of representative government.* – The power lobby is dominated by monopoly interests; its Washington "representatives" are paid fabulous salaries, and billions of dollars are poured into *false and misleading propaganda*. In a democracy all groups have an inviolable right to present their case, but only through an honest, straightforward statement of the facts.

4. *At this momentous period in our history monopoly is a more serious threat than ever before.* – Both domestic prosperity and world peace depend upon our ability to channel an enormous and growing output to the great masses of the people. But if we permit monopolistic power groups to curtail production and raise prices in the basic industries, we face growing concentration of wealth, a top-heavy economy, depression and unemployment. Such great power cannot long remain in private hands. The end result would inevitably be thoroughgoing collectivism, and destruction of our free competitive economy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in outright contradiction to the recommendations of his own Anti-trust Division, and the many safeguards contained in his letter of approval provide abundant hints that he realized his precarious position. Not only U. S. Steel's past record, but its ownership and control of more than a third of the nation's steel industry, indicates clearly that its ownership of Geneva is likely to lead to monopoly.

In further corroboration of the SWPC report are the following developments, all of which are of fairly recent date:

In New York, last week, Bernard Baruch proposed an atomic-energy-control plan which varied from the Lilienthal plan in one particularly important aspect: It left the door open for private exploitation of atomic discoveries.

House and Senate committees in Washington cut the appropriation for the Anti-Trust Division of the Department of Justice.

House and Senate committees cut a Federal Trade Commission appropriation, already severely trimmed by the Bureau of the Budget.

The Senate Interstate Commerce Committee approved the Bulwinkle bill, which would exempt railroad ratemaking from anti-trust laws.

A House subcommittee approved the Mason bill to exempt news-gathering associations from the anti-trust laws.

In spite of favorable action by the Judiciary Committee, the House Rules Committee bottlenecked the Kefauver bill, which would prevent mergers of competing concerns.

Earlier, the Smaller War Plants Corporation was abolished and its lending functions were transferred to the big-business-dominated RFC.

Regulation Six was formulated by the Surplus Property Board in contradiction to all priority groups set up by the Act; in effect it gave first claim on 40 percent of government-owned machine tools to big business.

President Truman recently stated in a speech in Maryland that he would prefer a thousand steel companies to one U. S. Steel, but the Administration has no program. The only hopeful signs are the Supreme Court decision in the tobacco case and the planned investigation by the Kefauver Small Business Committee in the House into the performance of those agencies now charged with the duty of preventing the growth of monopoly.

If the old control devices are inadequate to meet the demands of today's industrial economy, a new type of regulatory body must be devised to control rather than be controlled by industry.

Unless new ways are found to operate the industrial giants of today, it looks as if big business itself will beat the "revolutionaries" to the abolition of the free-enterprise system.

Semi-Public Officials

DIRECTORSHIPS and connections with private businesses by officers in government corporations would be open to public examination under a proposed amendment to the RFC-extension bill. The list of some 24 corporations which RFC director George E. Allen represents makes it clear that this is a reform long overdue.

The amendment introduced by Senators Glen Taylor of Idaho and Hugh Mitchell of Washington is aimed not only at Allen's directorships, but also at the broader issue of the secret financial connections of public officials. Taylor would like to go a step further, broadening the amendment to require all such officials to disclose publicly their investment holdings in private industry. His proposal paves the way for a major change in government which could be applied to all policy-making officials in the executive branch and to members of Congress. It would not prohibit such officials from holding private investments, but would permit the public to know about them and then to judge whether the officials were serving the public or some private interest.

Actually, Allen's connections are less dangerous than many others because at least they are matters of general knowledge. More insidious are the financial ties of government officials who have private business connections unknown to the public, leaving no way of telling whether or not the words and deeds of these officials are compromised by their pocketbooks. Little information on the private interests of public officials has leaked out, but there is enough to indicate that they are far more widespread than people generally realize. Allen's case was publicized when he was up for confirmation by the Senate. His directorates include Aviation Corporation, a large holding company with controlling interests in an airline; manufacturing companies, shipbuilding and radio; General Aniline and Film Corporation; Republic Steel Corporation; and many insurance companies. Presumably, Allen would not vote on issues directly involving these firms, but a loan to almost any kind of industrial concern would affect the far-flung interests of these enterprises.

The RFC, where the possibility of conflict between public and private interest is always present because of its intimate relations with American industry, has only one restriction to keep members from promoting their private interests in their public activities—members must abstain from voting on issues involving companies in which they are interested. But the public has no way of knowing how well this rule is applied. Members list the companies in which they are interested with the Secretary, but the lists are not made public. In addition to Allen's directorships, other members of the board undoubtedly have many private financial connections

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that are unknown to the public. Chairman of the Board Charles B. Henderson is a director of the Western Pacific Railroad Company and of a telephone company in Nevada; former Director Charles T. Fisher Jr. was a director of the Erie Railroad, a bank and an insurance company.

Some officials of executive departments and agencies are required by law to divest themselves of interest in private companies having a stake in their public activities. Not so with congressmen. For example, Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland has admitted getting fees from his Baltimore law firm, which represents many companies interested in legislation. Other members of Congress connected with law firms doing insurance business were influential in passing legislation relaxing the jurisdiction of the anti-trust laws over insurance companies a couple of years ago.

Recently columnist Drew Pearson charged that Senator Elmer Thomas of Oklahoma and the late Senator John Bankhead of Alabama had been speculating in the cotton market, which had responded to their activities at the Capitol. There are many others, but investigations to bring out the facts get no further than whispered stories in congressional cloakrooms.

Senators Taylor and Mitchell face an uphill fight in getting their amendments through Congress. Powerful financial interests have benefited from tie-ups with public officials. The present system serves the private interests of many legislators and public administrators. In all of these quarters the reform will be fought bitterly. Support will come only from those speaking for the public interest alone.

Inflation Is Here

PRICE CONTROL was killed last week by the Senate-House conference committee. At the end of their first three days of work, the conferees had accepted enough of the crippling amendments written into the Act by the two Houses to make certain that effective price control would be impossible. Then the committee administered the ultimate blow—further delay.

The committee gave its blessing to:

1. The price-raising amendments for manufacturers. Not only did the committee accept the Taft amendment, giving manufacturers their 1941 prices plus all increased costs since then, but it cut "producers" in on the windfall. This would mean that the Office of Price Administration would have to count in all increased farm costs in setting the price of every agricultural commodity. As the amendment stands, it would not only load the OPA with the impossible task of changing its whole pricing system, but would result in an unending stream of price increases.

2. Price-raising amendments for distributors. Some modifications were made, but the specially favored groups, the automobile and farm-implement dealers, as well as retailers in general, were assured that they no longer would have to absorb increased costs.

3. A group of amendments destroying price control on clothing. Under them, the OPA would be forbidden to check the speculative rise of raw-cotton prices. Then it would be required to let textile ceilings climb with the price of cotton; to allow the mills higher prices; and to eliminate its low-cost clothing program (maximum-average-price plan).

4. A decontrol amendment that would force the OPA to drop price control whenever supply equals demand, regardless of the effect on prices. Under it, price controls on cigarettes would have to be removed immediately. Coffee would follow shortly.

5. Amendments handing over the control of prices on agricultural commodities to the Secretary of Agriculture, also permitting him to decide when price controls should be dropped on agricultural commodities.

Aside from a few modifications, the only signs of the improvement of which Senator Barkley, the majority leader, had spoken so hopefully was the elimination of the Lucas amendment. It would have hamstrung enforcement by requiring the OPA to obtain the consent of the local district attorney before bringing a legal action.

When all of this was done, the conferees still had not decided what to do about the amendment ending price control on meat, dairy products and poultry on July 1. Nor about subsidies, nor on whether to continue what remained of the OPA for nine months or a year.

If the amendments already approved did not polish off the OPA, the committee's adjournment to 8 p.m., Monday, took care of it. Between Tuesday morning and midnight Sunday, when the OPA expires, the House, the Senate and the President must act upon the bill. With virtually no time for Congress to legislate after a veto, it is quite possible that the President may sign the emasculated bill as the only alternative to letting the OPA die altogether.

If this happens, it will be all that anti-OPA Republicans and Democrats could have wished. Mr. Bowles made it emphatically clear last week that even with the meat-decontrol amendment removed, a bill containing the other booby-trap amendments would be so destructive of price control that he could not live with it. If the President lets such a bill go through on the plea that there is no time for anything else, Bowles undoubtedly will resign.

For the opposition nothing could be sweeter. In one stroke they would have the type of price control they want (a sham), and would get rid of their arch-enemy, Bowles. Furthermore, if the country plunges into a disastrous inflation, the Republicans could comfortably point a finger at the administration and say to the people, "Look what they did to you." They might get away with it, too.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Washington Wire

Recess Fever

THE LIFE of the Seventy-ninth Congress is running out. It wants to go home. It hopes to quit by July 20, prepare for the election, take a long vacation and not return until January. All it desires now is to clean things up and get away.

Congress sets the mood for Washington. All kinds of matters are coming to a head. There is a special atmosphere at the end of a session. It's like a family packing up in a hurry. Clothes that don't get into bags now will have to wait till next winter. This isn't careful packing, either; it's random and irresponsible. The House tosses bills to the Senate, expecting errors to be repaired. The Senate tosses bills to the House. Both pass the buck to Truman, like the draft and price-extension bills. The big appropriation bills are railroaded through, complete with riders, one boosting the silver price, another requiring federal workers to swear they aren't members of a union "asserting" the right to strike against the government.

Congressmen are conscious of the impending election, conscious of the growing unpopularity of Harry Truman. They are intent on making a record—not for the nation or the party, but for themselves. They expect GOP gains this fall, with capture of the House not unlikely. The present stalemate should continue and probably deepen in the next two years. GOP capture of the House would make the frustration nearly absolute. (A minority party has controlled one or both chambers of the legislature, one out of every four years since the Civil War, making coherent legislation in that period difficult. The situation isn't new and now seems likely to recur.)

As the ancient wooden wheels of Congress creak toward a stop, bills must either be compromised or dropped altogether. In final weeks everybody has a value in the degree that he can hold back bills and force compromise. Single-minded objectives or lofty principles are forgotten now—the point is to get compromises. This is the time for smoke-filled rooms, for crusty septuagenarian committee chairmen, chosen for seniority. The Senate-approved congressional "sreamlining bill" can only pass the House now by a compromise. The bill to draft teen-agers has been compromised. A "compromise" waits for the OPA. In this mood it would take a compromise to get through the Ten Commandments.

Few people know it, but the charming and able British Ambassador, Archibald John Kerr Clark Kerr, Lord Inverchapel, was once in the hands of the American police. Back in the Taft administration, while in his twenties, "Archy" (as he has always been known to his friends) was a humble third secretary here. On a sultry night in tropical Washington he felt the need of communing with nature, found a secluded spot on Hanes Point on the Potomac, parked his clothes under a willow tree and slipped into the water. He was rudely disturbed by the "Hey, you!" of a Washington cop. The embarrassing thing was that in the gloaming all willow trees looked alike, and neither he nor the officer could find his clothes.

Even then, however, the ambassador-to-be rose to the occasion. The policeman, it developed, was freshly arrived from Germany and the young man was soon conversing with him in fluent German with a Scots burr. The clothes were found and the embarrassing incident ended in another diplomatic victory. Lord Inverchapel comes to Washington from Moscow, while American Ambassador Averell Harriman has gone from Moscow to London. They are close friends. His Lordship possesses a Scottish charm calculated to lure reporters off their twigs. The only other fact this Column would add is that he employs a personal bagpiper, 17-year-old Tammie McLean, who drones for guests on ceremonial occasions. Back in Stockholm, Archy had three pipers, but now it's down to one. The war, you know.

Under very different circumstances John Strachey, British Food Minister, over here last week as British representative at the opening of the International Emergency Food Council, also was once involved with the American authorities. He was denied admittance at Ellis Island in October, 1938, because of political beliefs. Defended by Arthur Garfield Hays and the Civil Liberties Union, he won on appeal to the Circuit Court, but his lecture trip was blocked. Strachey is still a little grim about the moral indignation whipped up against him in the thirties. Ironically, his trip last week involved a moral issue too; one on which America's own skirts aren't too clean. Britain is taking the hard and bitter step of rationing bread, which it avoided all during the war, partly to ensure food at home, but more particularly to help play her maximum part in alleviating world famine. Strachey thinks the British will accept bread rationing quietly because it will satisfy their consciences they are doing all they can to aid the starving. In returning to London, Strachey leaves behind a nation which felt his beliefs were un-American in 1938, and which won't ration food in 1946.

Notes.—It's hard to see how President Truman can sign the Hobbs bill; it does little but reaffirm the 1934 anti-racketeering act, already in force, while leaving out two protective provisions specifically inserted at the Justice Department's recommendation at passage to safeguard legitimate union activities. . . . Estimates of price rises after OPA decontrol range from five to 25 percent. . . . Bob La Follette will probably be renominated in Wisconsin, which means reëlection. . . . The British loan has been held back in the House to let members cool off after Bevin's blast over Jewish immigration; there may be an effort (unfortunate) to tie a Palestine rider to it. . . . Like most Washington columnists studying the subject, the Alsop brothers last week pointed to chronic institutional antagonism between White House and Congress as the basic source of America's bad government, in contrast to the parliamentary system. . . . Speaker Sam Rayburn isn't going to let the "policy-committee" provision of the congressional-reorganization bill go through if he can help it; it would attempt to strengthen party discipline, but would weaken the Speaker's power.

Washington T. R. B.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Political Roundup

Poets and Politicians

EVER SINCE Representative La Follette (Ind.) announced that he will leave the Republican Party at the end of this year, he has been showered with advice on what to do with his future. La Follette says that his recent unsuccessful campaign for the Republican senatorial nomination proved, to his own satisfaction at least, that the GOP is no place for liberals. But he doesn't want to join the Democratic Party until it has driven out its reactionary Southern members. Last week John Rankin scornfully rose in the House to say that La Follette reminded him of the Mississippian who, when he read this inscription on a wayside grave:

> Hark ye, strangers, passing by,
> As you are now, so once was I.
> As I am now, so you must be;
> Prepare for death and follow me,

penciled in the following:

> To follow you I'd not consent
> Unless I knew which way you went.

The next day Charlie La Follette posted this answering verse in the House pressroom:

> If I shall start a new goal to seek
> From time to time over my shoulder I'll peek
> And if perchance I find John Rankin behind
> I'll know I'm wrong and change my mind.

Those who read these lines were doubly sure that La Follette's future is in progressive politics, if not in poesy.

Connecticut.—Chester Bowles is about through with appealing to politicians and about ready to take to politics himself. Washington does not doubt that he will resign when the OPA is declared officially dead by Congress, or if Truman officially legalizes inflation by signing instead of vetoing the mutilated price-control bill that Congress is preparing to send him. Exactly where Bowles's immediate political future lies, however, is still not clear. Bowles would like best to become Governor of Connecticut this year. Senator Brien McMahon, who has inherited the Homer Cummings machine, does not like that idea at all. McMahon thinks that he has earned the right to control the state delegation to the Democratic National Convention in 1948 and the other perquisites of party office between now and then. And he knows that he will lose them if Bowles takes over as Governor. He is willing, however, to support Bowles for the senatorial nomination, primarily because he believes that Clare Luce will probably be the Republican nominee for that office, and no other Democrat could eliminate her. Bowles still is not reconciled to playing the role McMahon would like to assign him. He may do his best to take the gubernatorial nomination away from Lieutenant Governor Bill Snow, who is McMahon's candidate.

The Democratic congressional delegation from Connecticut has regularly bitten the dust in non-presidential years throughout the New Deal. Representative Koppelmann is the prize example: elected in '36, defeated in '38 (when fewer voters bothered to go to the polls), won in '40, lost in '42, won in '44. The trick for the Democrats is in getting out a big vote. With a spirited contest or two statewide, it should be possible for the Democrats to upset the Connecticut trend, at least partially.

Wisconsin.—Students at the University of Wisconsin know Howard McMurray as an uncommonly practical, interesting, knowledgeable professor of political science. Washington knows him as one of the most intelligent men who have served in Congress in recent years. Representative McMurray was defeated for the Senate in '44. He is running for the Senate again this year because he knows that the Democratic Party must be reëstablished in a strong position in Wisconsin before the state can be of any real service to the liberal movement nationally. Senator Bob La Follette, of course, is running for reëlection on the Republican instead of the Progressive ticket this time and is backed by Bob Taft and his brand of Republicans, opposed quietly but definitely by Stassen and his Wisconsin followers.

Organized labor will determine the result. If labor follows Bob La Follette and votes in the Republican primary, he will be elected over the regular Republican candidate and he will win in November. If labor understands what La Follette has embraced by rejoining the Republicans and moves bodily into the Democratic primary, La Follette will probably lose the Republican nomination, and McMurray, Dan Hoan, Democratic candidate for Governor, and up to five Democratic Representatives will be elected.

Montana.—Judge Leif Erickson, who is attempting to win the Democratic nomination for Senator from Burton Wheeler, has the old isolationist scared, at least. Wheeler is worried enough to allow himself to be forced into debates with Erickson, an excellent speaker. Wheeler isn't; and has refused to be drawn into any such contests in years past. Airplanes are flying up and down the Montana valleys, too, dropping Wheeler-for-Senator leaflets in large enough quantities to clutter up the highways. It's been a long time since Burt went to this much expense to keep his job. The radio stations owned by Anaconda Copper are loaded, as usual, with Wheeler propaganda.

Cotton Bloc.—The death of Senator John Bankhead (D, Ala.) robbed the Senate cotton bloc of its dean. Its members not only speculate in the cotton market on their own, but combine to filibuster such measures as the FEPC and to vote with reactionary Republicans on many questions. Senator Richard Russell of Georgia will probably succeed to the unofficial chairmanship of the cotton bloc. Quite another kind of Southerner will probably succeed Bankhead in the Senate. Democratic Whip John Sparkman is given the best chance to win the special election contest. Representative Frank Boykin, who has stooged for the NAM and special interests, will split the reactionary vote with state senator Jim Simpson, the corporation lawyer representing Northern interests who failed in a close-to-million-dollar attempt to defeat Senator Lister Hill in 1944. The poor, honest country people who just elected "Big Jim" Folsom Governor in a reform campaign will probably rise again to elect themselves another Senator as well.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Facts About the National Economy

How is this country getting along with the job of reconversion? Compared with prewar, how many people are at work, and what are they doing? Since it is difficult to get a clear picture of what is going on from the confused and often contradictory reports in the press, we present below an analysis of the current situation, drawn from official sources.

How Much Is Being Produced?

The Federal Reserve index number of physical production stood at 100 for the average of 1935-39. In 1941, the last year in which America was at peace, though preparation for war was under way, the index stood at 162, or 62 percent above prewar. At the peak of war production, for the year 1944, the number was 235. Thereafter it began to decline as war orders fell off. The lowest point of the index was reached in February, 1946, at 148, still nearly half again as much as the prewar average. Figures for March, adjusted to compensate for seasonal changes, place production at 168.

In April came the coal strike. The index number of production fell only to 164. The reason the general index dropped so little was that the settlement of the General Motors and General Electric strikes led to increase in the output of automobiles and other durable goods, while production of oil and non-durable goods, consumed daily by retail purchasers, kept on growing. Though the effect of the strikes will continue after their termination, it was less than we might have inferred from the newspaper accounts.

How Much Time Did Strikes Lose?

During the first four months of 1946 more man-days of working time were lost by strikes than ever before. The rate varied from just below 15 million at the beginning and end of the period to just over 20 million at the peak in February. Taken by itself, this is a very large figure. However, the total number employed was between 50 and 55 million, and the number on strike at any one time seldom rose over two million. It is doubtful whether, from January to April, more than two or three percent of total working time was lost by men on strike, though the indirect effects kept others out of production.

How Much Production for Civilians?

In 1941, industry produced more for American civilians than ever before in history. In the middle of the year military requirements began to encroach on civilian output, and from 1942 until V-J Day, industry turned out less for civilian consumption than in 1939. Early in 1945 war production began to fall sharply. Before the end of the year the production of goods for civilians had not only risen above the 1939 level, but had topped the high point of 1941. A minor recession resulted from the strikes in the early part of 1946. But by March the output of civilian goods was 50 percent above 1939, and *was also considerably higher than in 1941*, the year in which Americans had enjoyed their highest previous standard of living.

Strikes affected the durable-goods industries more than those which make goods for prompt consumption. The Federal Reserve index of production of non-durable goods stood at 142 in 1941. Its lowest point after the end of hostilities was 154 in October, 1945, and since then it has risen almost steadily, being 168 in March, 1946. There can be no question that with a few exceptions there are now many more non-durable goods available for consumers than there were before the war or during its course.

What About Automobiles, Houses, Radios?

Because of the difficulty of buying a new car, we think of automobile production as being almost nonexistent. Yet the output has been nearly equal to the average of 1935-39. In December last year production was five percent below prewar, in January, 1946, it was five percent above, in February seven percent below and in March one percent below. In April, automobile production jumped 67 percent over March, though May was lower than April. Most companies were not affected by the strike. The scarcity is mainly the result of the huge backlog of demand.

Residential construction, of course, was cut deeply by the war, but it was low before that. In 1941 the value of residential contracts awarded was only 89 percent of the 1923-25 average. Home-building has increased steadily since last fall, and this year the index of the value of contracts awarded has risen above 1941, and even above the level of the twenties, touching 101 in March. Allowance must be made for higher prices, but even so, the impression that few dwellings are being built is contrary to fact.

Production of critical building materials like lumber, roofing and plumbing fixtures has increased markedly since last August. Difficulty in obtaining materials is due more to the enormous demand than to interruptions of production.

Approximately a million radio sets per month have recently been turned out, or 91 percent of the prewar rate. April shipments of washing machines numbered 177,000, or 12 percent above prewar. Vacuum cleaners were also 12 percent above prewar production. Output of mechanical refrigerators, however, was still less than half the prewar rate. Weekly cutting of men's suits in March, 1946, was 21,000 above the high weekly average of 1941. Shortage of linings and cotton has kept the finishing of suits about 15 percent below the number cut. Nylon stockings had by March reached 30 million pairs a month.

How Many Are Employed?

A high level of employment existed in 1941, when 17.5 percent more people had jobs, outside of agriculture, than in 1939. During the war, employment rose still higher, the peak being reached in 1943 with a yearly average 30.9 percent above 1939. After that, employment slowly declined and in August, 1945, it stood at 21.5 percent above the prewar level. In September and October a drop in employment occurred, but not so large as many had feared. Since then employment has risen steadily, and is now higher

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than at the end of the war. It is also above the peak level of 1941, the difference being about equivalent to the growth of population since that year.

Since December the number employed has increased by 3.2 million, and may reach 57 million by the end of the year. There are still about 2.3 million unemployed. But the danger in the near future is that of insufficient labor to produce as many goods as consumers want to buy.

What About Prices?

The chief cause for worry at present is rising prices. The official index of wholesale prices was, in May of this year, 10 percent above 1926, the year on which the index is based. But in 1920 prices had been 54.4 percent higher than in 1926. Thus we have been far below the former postwar inflation. Of course prices fell markedly in the thirties. The May, 1946, figure represented an increase of about 25 percent above the 1941 level.

The official index of the cost of living showed in March a 30-percent increase over the 1935-39 average. Figures for subsequent months will undoubtedly reveal advances of two or three points more. These figures indicate that it takes about $133 in the consumer's pocketbook to buy what would have cost $100 before the war started. Consumers' dollars will now buy somewhat more, however, than in 1920.

The official index of the cost of living does not tell the whole story. In many lines there has been a deterioration in quality so that the consumer's dollar does not really go so far as the price tag would indicate. Even more serious for those in the lower income brackets, productive capacity has been concentrated on goods of the higher price levels, so that it is often impossible to buy the less expensive qualities. Estimates of the effect of these shortages on prices actually paid have run, in the clothing field, as high as an increase of 100 percent.

The major concern, however, is not about the present, but about the future. What will be the effect of the weakening of price control?

How Much Can Consumers Spend?

The upward pressure on prices arises from the large amount of money in the hands of consumers. In 1939 the disposable income of the population was $68 billion. (Disposable income means the total of income payments to individuals minus what they pay in taxes.) In the first quarter of 1946 the disposable income was at the annual rate of $140 billion. Thus the amount that consumers can spend out of their current income is twice as large as before the war, although the quantity of goods available for purchase is hardly more than 50 percent above prewar production. Consumers spent $62 billion in 1939, and spent at the annual rate of $120 billion in the first quarter of 1946.

What consumers do not spend out of their incomes is, naturally, saved. During the war incomes rose rapidly, but so did savings. There were fewer goods available and there was strong pressure to buy war bonds. The natural result was a building up of bank deposits, cash and bond holdings, all of which can readily be spent for current consumption if the consumers should wish to use their extra savings for this purpose. About $150 billion might thus be poured into retail markets.

But the Bureau of Agricultural Economics reports that 40 percent of American families have only one percent of the savings, or $40 per family. The next highest 30 percent of families have 11½ percent of the savings. The top 30 percent have 87½ percent, or $1,100 each. The top 10 percent have 60 percent of the savings, or $10,500 per family.

It is less likely that the war savings will be employed to buy food, clothing or automobiles than to speculate in securities or real estate. Speculative inflation is already evident in both these markets.

Though consumers may not dissipate their savings for current consumption, they are likely to save less and spend more out of what they now earn. This tendency is already apparent. In the second quarter of 1945, individuals saved 29 percent of what they earned. In the first quarter of 1946, they saved 14 percent. This compares with savings of nine percent in 1939. A further reduction of savings is therefore in prospect. This means larger spending, especially in view of the fact that, for the country as a whole, incomes are still rising.

Will Production Increase to Match Spending?

As price control is weakened, the only force which could prevent further price increases would be a continued growth of production so that the goods offered for sale would be sufficient to satisfy consumers' demand at existing prices. Opponents of price control argue that rising prices are necessary to stimulate production. Defenders of price control argue that production has increased without any marked rise of prices both during and after the war, and that a rapid advance would be more likely to deter production by making it difficult to forecast costs and by offering business an incentive to buy up materials and hold goods for speculative gains.

The facts which bear most closely on this controversy are those which describe the experience of the years following the First World War. The drastic price inflation of 1919 and the early months of 1920 brought about virtually no increase of industrial production over 1918. Instead, business concerns increased their stocks on hand by about $6 billion. After the sharp deflation of 1920-21, production rose rapidly, although wholesale prices increased only three percent between 1921 and 1923.

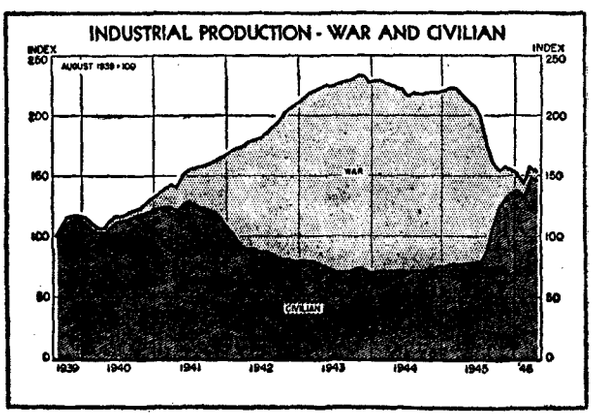


Chart from "Monthly Report on Civilian Production," from the Civilian Production Administration, prepared by the OPA from data furnished by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Are Railroads Above the Law?

by Nathan Robertson

FEW PEOPLE are powerful enough to violate the law and then, when caught, to have the law changed. But that's what the railroads are trying to do—and with the help of their powerful lobby they may get away with it. The lobby-ridden House of Representatives already has voted obediently for the legislation the railroads demanded. The lobby is now working on the Senate.

The laws the carriers have been violating are no minor traffic ordinances, but some of the fundamental laws of the land—the anti-trust laws—enacted to protect our system of free competitive enterprise from the paralyzing attack of monopoly. These laws have been on the books for 50 years and almost every member of Congress is pledged to support them. But the railroads, caught with the goods and now on trial, want them changed.

About 1941, Thurman Arnold, then Assistant Attorney General in charge of anti-trust enforcement, began a belated investigation of monopolistic practices by the railroads. His investigators quickly discovered that under the leadership of the Association of American Railroads, and with the support of the powerful bankers who have financed and controlled many of the nation's biggest roads, rigid self-government had been established by the carriers to control freight rates for the benefit of the railroad security holders at the expense of the public. Self-regulation was also used, the Justice Department found, to eliminate competition in the use of new and improved equipment, including safety devices, and to govern the kind of service provided by the carriers for the public.

But by the time Arnold was ready to prosecute, the war was on. The railroads were saved by the same special consideration given to other monopolistic industries during the war—a plea from the War Department that prosecution would interfere with the war effort. The Justice Department was persuaded to drop the case. Over the protests of the Justice Department, but on the recommendation of the War Department and the Office of Defense Transportation, the War Production Board gave the railroad rate-making machinery a wartime exemption from the anti-trust laws. This exemption was due to expire May 1 of this year, but at the last moment Civilian Production Administrator John D. Small extended it for two months, which gave the carriers that much more time to lobby through Congress a permanent exemption.

A recent report by a committee of experts set up by the Budget Bureau indicated that under their wartime exemption, the railroads levied excessive charges of many millions of dollars on the government's wartime freight. The excessive charges were approved by a unit in the War Department dominated by railroad men who have since gone back to their jobs with the carriers.

Finally, last year, despite all the obstacles placed in its way, the Justice Department filed a civil anti-trust suit against the Western Railroads, the AAR and some of the big railroad bankers, charging them with conspiracy to eliminate competition. At about the same time Ellis Arnall, crusading young Governor of Georgia, filed a precedent-smashing anti-trust case against the railroads in the Supreme Court. This trial got under way in March, before Special Master Lloyd K. Garrison, dean of the Wisconsin Law School, and his report is expected to go to the Court for decision in the fall.

WITH THESE SUITS in progress, the railroads opened a high-pressure lobby drive in Congress for passage of the Bulwinkle bill, which permits the friendly Interstate Commerce Commission to grant them exemptions from the anti-trust laws and legalizes their present practices. The railroad lobby pushed the bill through the House almost without protest. Literally hundreds of organizations were lined up by the carriers to testify for it—most of them Chambers of Commerce and shipping organizations. Even railroad labor went along.

In taking such testimony at face value, however, the House committee ignored evidence uncovered by the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee a few years ago on the way the railroads have organized a nationwide, well financed and smartly directed lobby to arrange such false-front support for their legislative objectives. This report was submitted to the Senate in 1941 by Chairman Burton K. Wheeler (D, Mont.) of the Senate committee and then Senator, now President, Harry S. Truman.

This Wheeler-Truman report, based on the files of the AAR, showed that the lobby is directed from the AAR office in Washington, headed by J. J. Pelley, former president of the New York, New Haven and Hartford. Its master mind is erudite and able R. V. Fletcher, long vice-president and general counsel of the Association. The AAR has a war chest of almost $5 million a year at its disposal, and much additional financing is provided the lobby by the railroads themselves, the report disclosed. The committee found that

---

Nathan Robertson, for many years a leading Washington newspaperman, and winner of the Heywood Broun Memorial Award in 1944, recently resigned from the Washington staff of PM.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

between 1920 and 1936 the railroads had paid more than $182 million to more than 132 organizations ranging from the AAR down to small local associations dealing with railroad problems, and in addition had been "active in many other bodies which are directly or indirectly concerned with transportation questions, such as shippers' and manufacturers' organizations, security owners' associations, safety councils, taxpayers' groups, chambers of commerce and so forth."

Groups of this kind provided most of the testimony for the Bulwinkle bill in the House. In this connection, the Senate report was much more specific. It said:

> In their legislative work, the railroad associations have called on the staffs of railroads, Chambers of Commerce, shippers' groups and many others to testify in behalf of the railroads and to urge action on legislators.
>
> In many instances such groups have been paid by the railroads for their services and have then urged their views on congressmen as those of disinterested bodies unconnected with the carriers.

THE SENATE REPORT disclosed that one of the ways the railroads lined up support from Chambers of Commerce, which have provided much of the support for the Bulwinkle bill, is by giving them large contributions. It listed many such contributions, including some to the very organizations which have appeared in the current hearings, such as $42,896 by the Pennsylvania to the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce and $50,000 by the Southern Pacific to the California Chamber of Commerce. It also included letters from Fletcher in which he suggested the organization of local railroad associations so that "we would be advised as to who are the influential men behind the several congressmen" in order to use them in bringing pressure on their legislators.

Governor Arnall cited this evidence in asking the Senate committee to investigate the lobby for the Bulwinkle bill. He said most of the support for the bill came from shippers' organizations which were intimidated by the railroads; Chambers of Commerce which were supported financially by the railroads; railroad lawyers and employees and officials of state regulatory bodies, most of whom were elected to office. Of the last group Arnall commented: "Money is required in politics. They are looking after their politics." The Senate committee has ignored his demand for an investigation. Instead, Senator Clyde Reed (R, Kan.), who has defended the railroads throughout the hearings, has suggested an investigation of how much the Anti-Trust Division has wasted, as he calls it, investigating the carriers.

Much of the public complacency on the railroad drive for exemption from the anti-trust laws is based on the misconception that the carriers are closely regulated by the Interstate Commerce Commission and that therefore competition is not required to protect the public. But the evidence indicates that ICC regulation of the roads is extremely ineffective—the ICC did not even interfere with the infamous Western Agreement, under which rates and services in the West were closely controlled by the railroad monopoly. This agreement was so vulnerable that it was officially abrogated by the roads as soon as the Justice Department started legal action against them.

The Commission investigates a very small percentage of the rates filed with it. Some experts say it goes into no more than one percent, although this figure has been challenged by the ICC. However, Howard Hosmer, an ICC examiner, admitted to the Senate committee, when questioned on this point, that most applications for rates are merely examined to see whether they comply with the technical rules on how they should be filed and are not investigated as to their reasonableness.

One of the basic reasons for the opposition to the Bulwinkle bill is the expectation that the ICC would continue to rule with a weak hand while protecting the railroads from any interference by the Justice Department. The ICC has supported the bill. Disgusted with the ICC's pliability, James G. Patton, president of the National Farmers' Union, has called for reorganization or abandonment of the Commission.

Governor Arnall and the Justice Department have presented voluminous evidence to the Senate committee of the way the railroad rate-making monopoly eliminates competition by preventing roads from initiating rate proposals without the approval of the rate-making hierarchy set up under the AAR. The ICC has

Drawing by Bernstein. Copyright by Field Publications, Inc., and reprinted by courtesy of PM.

"We Want Him EXTENDED—Not STRETCHED!"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

done nothing to break up this pressure on individual roads.

At least part of railroad labor has finally turned against the Bulwinkle bill, fearing that it would lead to further weakening of the anti-trust laws and endanger the whole American system of free enterprise. But the public generally must be aroused if the anti-trust laws are to be saved. If the public doesn't wake up, the powerful railroad lobby is likely to win in the Senate as it did in the House.

The Greatest Guys in the World

by Michael Straight

'All night long the delegates signed in: Tuscaloosa; Tokyo Number One; Yuba City; Yokosuka; Brooklyn Number 28; Los Angeles Number 29. . . .

No GOLD BRAID or impressive titles, no show of medals; no whistling at girls or hot-foots; no parades; no clapping of backs or handing out of cigars; no come on up and have a quick one; no Auld Lang Syne; but remembrance, creating a sense of sober responsibility; a determination to be the world's last veterans.

They had understood that veterans would have to lead any breakthrough of the unending cycle of war, armistice and war. They had watched the Legion and the VFW prepare to bring the new veterans into line in support of the old world. They had known that only through their own organization could they speak.

Not long before the war's end, they heard of a new organization of the veterans of this war. It was called the American Veterans' Committee. A few Service journals carried its Statement of Intentions. They looked for arrogant generalities. They read:

> We look forward to becoming civilians, making a decent living, raising a family and living in freedom from the threat of another war. But . . . military victory does not automatically bring peace, jobs or freedom . . . we must work for what we want; . . . therefore, we are associating ourselves with American men and women, regardless of race, creed or color. When we are demobilized, it will be up to all of us to decide what action can best further our aims.

It sounded great. A Paris chapter sprang up and held a conference. A Marine on Guam recruited 80 percent of his company. From Casino and Iwo letters flowed in. Often they went unanswered. When the writers came back, they found out why. In the back room that was national headquarters, the chairman and vice-chairman of the AVC sat pecking away on typewriters late at night, with unanswered letters stacked beside them.

The AVC met in that room all autumn. The meetings were open and they slowly filled up. At the same time, the world began to come apart. Each disaster made the AVC look smaller. So its National Planning Committee authorized Charles Bolté, the chairman, to spend far more than the AVC was taking in, and raise the rest by contributions. He did a fine job, never losing his happy nature, his balance or his wisdom.

The AVC grew. Manhattan Number One felt badly when Manhattan Number Two was authorized. Soon Manhattan Thirty-nine was demanding a charter. Manila and Tokyo held huge meetings during the winter. Franklin Roosevelt Jr. spoke at the first housing rally. A month later the AVC's leadership on housing and price control was established across America. There were 10,000 members in January; 60,000 in June.

Herman Bottcher Chapter, Ernie Pyle Chapter . . . FDR Chapter . . . Half of them had held money-raising rallies, or gone into debt to send their delegates. Down through the smallest, founded on hatred of the high-handedness of the old-line organizations, every detail of the convention had been passionately argued out. It had been delayed until most veterans had returned from overseas. The convention rules were rewritten by the membership through a referendum. The agenda was altered on the membership's insistence. The platform was constructed point by point from war experiences and brief postwar lives. Hochst and Berlin called for denazification, demilitarization and democratization in the occupation of Germany. Cambridge, Seattle Number One and Houston argued in detail for world government now. Dearborn wanted a world armed force. Washington took three months to write a full draft. Columbia University developed "the inalienable right to learn." Pare Lorentz wrote a section on river-valley development. Sergeant Marty Solow of Tyler, Texas, asked provision for a Permanent FEPC.

There were conflicts in the platform, deeper conflicts in the election of leaders. They arose from the great world struggle that pressed down into every AVC chapter, dividing friends. The majority of the National Planning Committee wanted the AVC to continue as a liberal, non-partisan movement whose purpose was to bring all veterans into political action around issues of veterans' affairs, jobs, housing and peace. A minority wanted the AVC to be out-and-out progressive, working closely with the labor movement toward a new political alignment. Not long before the convention, this minority brought together inevitable grievances,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

natural ambitions and basic differences in points of view to form an organized opposition. It was partly an underground opposition. Letters marked "confidential" turned up in every chapter, attacking the national leadership as "middle-of-the-road." From then on, unimportant details became matters of principle. Whispers and rumors spread. Recruiting slowed down. Two months before the convention, the New York and Los Angeles area councils passed under opposition control. AVC leaders who believed in the widest unity with the Left and who had never taken part in any kind of factional struggle found themselves driven to active counter-organization in preparation for a knock-down, drag-out fight at Des Moines.

Madison, Fort Sam Houston, Queens Number 13 ... They had joined because they hated caucuses and smoke-filled rooms. They all stood up and let out a long, resounding cheer when Bolté opened the convention. Three hours later, they were crowded into smoke-filled rooms and the tension was rising.

Most of the delegates belonged to no group. They were depressed by the pulling and hauling of conventions, hoping that the AVC would act in a new spirit. They distrusted bureaucracy and feared signs of railroading. They welcomed "rank-and-file" movements and calls for "unity." They were progressive. They resented charges that the opposition was Communist-led. From life as well as army orientation, they knew that fascism had exploited the Communist issue. They remembered that Westbrook Pegler had branded the AVC as red, calling Bolté "Long John Silver" and accusing him of making political capital out of the loss of a leg at El Alamein. Pegler was anti-Communist. The delegates were damned if they would stand on Pegler's side.

They wanted the issue of power within the AVC postponed. They wanted both candidates for vice-chairman, Gil Harrison and Fred Borden, withdrawn in favor of a third man. Borden agreed, and at the critical moment of the convention, an aggressive field organizer from California was advanced as the "unity" candidate; he entirely shared Borden's point of view.

Those lovingly called "moderates" by the press answered that an all-out attack had been made on AVC leaders by a group which had demonstrated a basic misunderstanding of the AVC's purpose, and which wished to turn the AVC to its own narrow ends. They argued that Harrison had unjustly been made the focal point of the attack and that if he were withdrawn, the basis for the attack would be conceded and its objectives attained, leaving the AVC divided, unworkable and incapable of any broad appeal to veterans. They were determined for once to stay up as late and to organize as well as any other group, for their aims. So they rode through the convention with Harrison, fighting through caucus after caucus until daybreak.

One evening during the struggle, an old man came up to me in the crowded lobby of the Hotel Fort Des Moines. In his drunkenness, he had sensed the tension and unhappiness around him.

"Dump me," he said.

I didn't understand. "Where?" I asked him.

"Here," he said, pointing down. "Dump me right here! Watch the ketchup run!" He thrust out his chin for me to smash, in the only offering he could make to a happier spirit. "Go ahead: it'll make you feel good."

"I feel fine," I said. "I don't want to dump anyone." His eyes filled with tears. "Christ Almighty," he said, and stumbled away.

No one slept. The staff worked over the mimeograph machines until one of them fainted. Delegates fell on their beds for an hour and got up again. All day long the platform committees met. On World Affairs, the protagonists of the United Nations, World Government and Big Three Unity clashed violently and ended by accepting one platform. On Veterans' Affairs, the opposition group brought in a plank in support of a bonus. The founders of the AVC believed that it was absolutely contrary to the AVC's basic concept: "Citizens first, veterans second." It was defeated. Pare Lorentz and Sergeant Solow saw their planks accepted. A tough, indigenous, progressive program took shape.

And the AVC meant what it said. When two Negro delegates were turned out of a local café, the proprietor found himself in court within 15 minutes, arrested for violation of a city ordinance by two AVC lawyers, Franklyn Williams and Oren Root.

At eight o'clock on Saturday morning, a 12-hour session ended in defeat for the opposition group. Harrison and a predominantly liberal NPC were elected the next day. The delegates checked out and started home. *San Diego, Ithaca, San Antonio.* Still arguing.

"Look," they would say, "stop talking about 'their side' and 'our side.' Get off the defensive. We've learned one thing here—that we'll survive if we build our own leadership around a program that's right."

They crowded into buses for sleepless rides home. "Look," they were saying, "forget about ourselves. There are a million vets who will back our program and not one that will back a single one of us. They don't have to be good enough for us. We have to be good enough for them—and they're the greatest guys in the world."

Unnoticed, a gray-haired woman watched them go. Three years before, she had written the first AVC bulletin to five members, quoting the prayer of Sir Francis Drake: "O Lord God when Thou givest to Thy servants to endeavor any great matter, grant us also to know that it is not the beginning, but the continuing of the same until it is thoroughly finished which yieldeth the true glory."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Ku Klux Klan

I. What to Do About It

by Stetson Kennedy

THE ATTEMPTED RESURGENCE of the Ku Klux Klan has touched off an unprecedented demand for legal and legislative action to curb its divisive, anti-democratic, criminal activities. The avenues such action might take are numerous.

Attorney General Tom C. Clark has promised that all "federal laws at my command and all that Congress deems fit to give me in the future will be enforced to the very limit in stamping out any organization which aims at extermination of our precious civil liberties." Special agents of the FBI have been assigned to get the goods on the Klan, and prosecutions should soon be forthcoming. Meanwhile, the nation awaits the outcome of the "war" which Georgia's progressive Governor Ellis Arnall has declared against the Klan.

Arnall has directed the attorney general of Georgia to institute *quo-warranto* proceedings requiring the Klan to show cause why its corporate charter should not be revoked. Scheduled to be filed on June 21, this suit charges primarily that the Klan has violated certain civil liberties guaranteed by Georgia's constitution.

Grand Dragon Samuel Green has indicated that he will not contest revocation of the Klan's charter. There is a real schism within the Klan, and it was described to me on June 15 by J. B. Stoner, kleagle for Tennessee. Stoner said in substance: At the Imperial Kloncilium of 1944 which voted for suspension because of the federal tax assessment, a five-man executive board was established, with Imperial Wizard James A. Colescott as chairman. Also on the board were Green, Klan attorney Morgan Belser, Grand Dragon Ben Adams of South Carolina (now deceased), and one other man. The line-up of the board is three-to-one against Green, says Stoner. With the charter in effect, Colescott is in a position to prohibit Green and everyone else from using the Klan's name; if the charter is dissolved, Green or anyone else can appropriate the Klan's name. Hence Green would like to see the charter dissolved, Stoner declares. Thus charter dissolution, though it would deprive the Klan of the protective cloak of incorporation, is not a complete cure for Ku Kluxery.

Shortly after the Klan's Stone Mountain klam-bake, Representative Landis of Indiana, a member of the Un-American Activities Committee, confirmed reports that an investigator was going to Atlanta "on his own initiative" to look into the Klan. "It's all news to me," said another committee member. "I know it has never been discussed at any committee meeting." On May 27 the committee announced that the scheduled departure of its investigator had been canceled. Acting chairman Rankin said that "the Committee on Un-American Activities is not called upon to interfere" in the Klan investigation launched by Governor Arnall.

Liberal Representative John Murdock of Arizona objected to making the committee a sounding board for Ku Kluxery. When a vote was taken, Murdock and Robinson favored a real investigation. Wood, Rankin and Peterson of Florida were vigorously opposed. Landis registered no opposition to dropping the probe. Bonner of North Carolina and Thomas of New Jersey were absent. In a statement to the press several days later, counsel Ernest Adamson announced that the committee had decided not to investigate the Klan because it "lacked sufficient data on which to base a probe."

ONE OF the most effective curbs against Ku Kluxery lies in the federal tax lien for $685,305 which has been filed against the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., by collector of internal revenue Marion Allen in Atlanta. But in filing the lien Mr. Allen made the strange request that "If anybody can point out any property of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., I will seize it instanter to satisfy the government's claim."

This is peculiar, inasmuch as the Treasury Department has at its disposal a large staff of investigators. Only last month, Frank J. Wilson, chief of the United States Secret Service, was detailed "to direct a small army of Treasury Department agents in running down tax evaders." Grand Dragon Green has claimed that his so-called "Associated Klans of Georgia" cannot be attached to satisfy the lien against the Klan, Inc. Lest there be any prolonged tendency to accept the Dragon's claim, be it known to all:

1. I have in my possession membership and reinstatement blanks, Forms K-115 and K-131, of the "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.," used by the Klan this year. For a time some kleagles took the trouble to strike out the word "Inc." with a pencil, while others did not. More recently, Green has purchased a rubber stamp with which he superimposes "Assoc. Klans of Ga." on the blanks.

2. The Klan is functioning under the Kloran, its constitution and governing instrument under the corporate charter.

3. Green has issued charters to klaverns in Tennessee, Alabama and perhaps other states.

Stetson Kennedy is a young Southern author whose full-length exposé of the Klan and other anti-democratic forces, Southern Exposure, *will be published by Doubleday in September.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

4. On March 21, 1946, Klan attorney Morgan Belser filed with the secretary of state of Georgia a corporate registration certificate for the "Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc.," listing Colescott as president and paying the required fee covering corporate activities for 1940-46 inclusive.

5. The fact that Klansmen can be "reinstated" in the present Klan speaks for itself.

6. For months the Klan has been contributing small sums to charities, saving the canceled checks to "prove" to the Treasury Department that it is a "benevolent" organization.

All of which adds up to the fact that the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc., and the Associated Klans of Georgia are *de jure* and *de facto* one and the same.

Unless the rake-off has been 100 percent, the operating Klan should have considerable in its kitty. Green's most recent claim put the dues-paying membership in Georgia at 30,000. The initiation fee is $5 for new members, $3 for reinstatement. Dues are $10 per year. Taking the Dragon's figures as correct, arithmetic tells us that the Klan should have collected at least $300,000 in dues and $135,000 in fees. Moreover, the Klan is operating an insurance business to which nearly 500 Klansmen have contributed $2.50 each. And then there are the robes, which are manufactured by the ladies' auxiliaries and sold through the Dragon's office.

FOR TECHNICAL legal reasons, the Department of Justice and the FBI should not be called upon to "investigate the Klan," but rather to investigate specific violations of specific civil liberties of specific persons by specific Klansmen. Among the difficulties involved is that of getting district attorneys to act in some localities, because of political considerations. It is often just as difficult to get federal grand juries to return indictments—as recently demonstrated by the whitewash of the Columbia, Tennessee, race-riot outrages.

Georgia's probing of the Klan has uncovered a number of kidnap, flogging and murder cases which should be prosecuted by the federal authorities. In addition there is the case of Mrs. Kate Robbins, a Jewish woman who was forced by Klan terror to abandon her small business in Redbank, Tennessee. And at Dalton, Georgia, the Klan is accused of shearing the hair of girls found at the local "lovers' lane."

Demands that the Klan be "banned" have been voiced more or less insistently since Reconstruction. The abortive Ku Klux Act of Reconstruction days was an ill fated attempt to meet the demand. More recently the demand has been based on charges that the Klan is "fascistic," etc. This is true enough, but it has no legal implications. Not even the German-American Bund has been banned as such. Those Bundsmen who were jailed were incarcerated for violation of the Selective Service Act.

And so while it is neither possible nor desirable for any governmental agency to issue an edict declaring the Klan to be "verboten," it is entirely possible for the courts to hold that the Klan is dedicated to treasonable activity, and thus convict anyone and everyone connected with it. The courts have ruled that to be guilty of treason by levying war there must be (1) an assembly of armed force or of *a force sufficient to intimidate by its numbers*, and (2) there must be an intent to overthrow the government or to *defeat the enforcement of one of its laws*. Time and again the Klan has been guilty of treason on both counts.

Under the conspiracy laws of the United States it is permissible to introduce evidence regarding a protracted chain of events in order to establish the fact that a conspiracy exists. Such evidence may relate to any overt act (deeds, written and spoken words) indicating that two or more persons have conspired to violate the law. The evidence against the Klan is voluminous.

"All those who perform any part, however minute, or however remote from the scene of action, and who are actually leagued in the general conspiracy, are to be considered traitors," Mr. Chief Justice Marshall ruled.

While there are ample grounds for legal action against the Klan, some new laws would be all to the good. Many states have long-forgotten laws against intimidators in disguise which might now be dusted off to good advantage. Local ordinances and state statutes might be employed to de-hood the Klan—Governor Arnall has already promised to call a special session of the Georgia legislature to do this, if necessary.

ULTIMATELY, the American people have recourse to their Congress. Because the Klan is a national organization, constituting a national menace to the public safety and welfare, Congress has a perfect right to legislate on it, just as it had in enacting the prohibition, kidnaping and alien-registration laws. Furthermore the Klan, with its sale of regalia, is engaged in interstate commerce.

A federal anti-lynching law would go a long way toward putting the Klan out of business.

But perhaps the most effective measure for Congress to adopt would be a law patterned after a New York statute (1923) which requires any corporation or association (other than labor unions, fraternities, benevolent societies, etc.) having more than 20 members and requiring an oath as a condition of membership, to file with the state a sworn copy of its constitution, by-laws, rules, regulations and oath, together with a roster of all members and officers. All persons who become members of, retain membership in, or attend meetings of such an organization with knowledge that it has not complied with the law are liable to prosecution. This law was upheld by the Supreme Court in 1928 in a decision which included a denunciation of the Klan. The hooded order has not reformed one iota since then. As the Imperial Wizard has put it, "The Klan has not compromised its basic creed."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

While the Klan should be prosecuted relentlessly to the limit of the law, and new legal restraints should be placed upon it, the real verdict as to whether America is once more in for a reign of terror under the Invisible Empire will be rendered in the court of public opinion.

This time that court is informed as never before, the case against the Klan is complete and the prospect for a verdict of guilty is most promising.

II. My Father and the Klan

by Evelyn Miller Crowell

IN 1939, when many Americans were still hesitant about the need for our taking a firm stand against the spread of the movements which were already menacing the world, I wrote a little story which was published in a national magazine. I think that story bears repeating now. Here it is.

It happened in Dallas, Texas, in 1922. My father, the late Barry Miller, for 50 years active in Texas politics, was one of the first men of prominence to lift his voice in warning against the stirring of religious and racial antagonism and to attack the Klan openly and spiritedly in an election campaign.

At the height of the campaign, he was visited in his law office in Dallas by a committee. It was made up of three men, none a resident of Dallas. This was the usual procedure, the idea being that the members of the committee, who couldn't very well walk around during the day with hoods on, would not be recognized or easily identified by the person upon whom they called. The spokesman said briefly:

"Judge Miller, your record in Texas is well known and admired. You have many friends in the Klan who would not want to see you hurt. But we are here to warn you that you've got to stop attacking the Klan. You mustn't make another speech against it."

My father heard him through. Then he replied:

"Gentlemen, I don't know any of you. It was not intended that I should. But I do know the three leaders of the Klan in north Texas, and I want you to take a message back to them. First of all, I am not going to stop attacking the Klan. My next speech is scheduled for tomorrow and I intend to make it. And I will keep on making speeches until I am stopped by force. You can undoubtedly do that. It is very easy to get one man. But I want you to remind (here he named the three Klan leaders) that I have three sons. They know them well. They know that they are three of the best shots in this part of the country. As soon as you leave my office, I will get in touch with my three boys. I will assign one to each of the Klan leaders. You may get me. But if you do, just tell your three leaders that they will be dead shortly thereafter. And make no mistake about my meaning what I say. And now, good day, sirs."

Presumably the message was taken back promptly. And the three Klan leaders, as my father had pointed out, were well acquainted with my brothers. They knew that two had served throughout World War I and were experts in everything from cannon to sabers, but were particularly expert with rifles and pistols. They knew that the third, who was disqualified from military service because of a foot ailment, was one of the finest marksmen in the world, being one of the few persons who has ever won the amateur trap-shooting championship for North America four times, twice on single targets and twice on doubles.

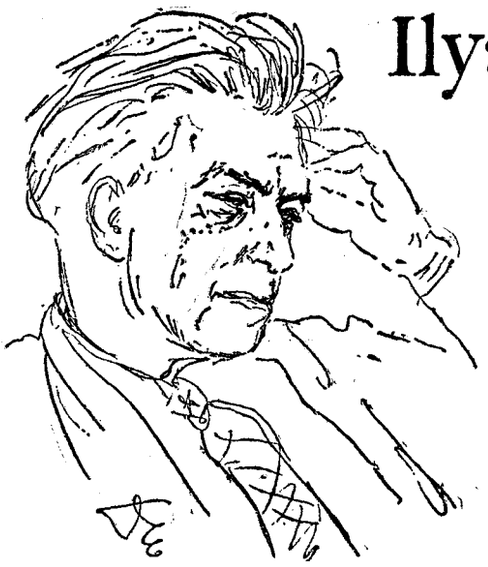
My father continued to attack the Klan in speeches for the duration of that campaign. In spite of his opposition and that of other far-sighted men, the Klan won that year. For the next two years we lived in a community where every city and county office was held by a member of the Klan or by a man who had made peace with it. In 1924, the attack was renewed, with every member of our family, including my mother, who deplores politics, taking part. That year the anti-Klan forces won, the Klan strength was broken and the organization was split by internal dissension. But before this happened, many innocent persons had been made to suffer, lifelong friendships had been broken and all of us who had lived through this experience received scars which were hard to heal.

It is notable, though, that during the period when the Klan was riding highest, my father heard nothing more from the committee and received no other threat, to say nothing of bodily harm. That message he had sent to the Klan leaders, backed by the conviction that he meant what he said, had been all that was necessary.

Now, with the Klan being revived and a new reign of terror in prospect, it seems to me that we might draw a moral from this little story. The governments of California and Georgia have already announced their intention to squash the revival. This action is timely and commendable. However, it is essential that this action, and similar action in any other state where the Klan raises its unwelcome head, should have the full support of aroused public opinion. Those subject to attack—Catholics, Jews and Negroes—may be expected to register horror and alarm. It seems to me that it is even more important for those threatened only by the contamination of our national life by this destructive force—those who still like to think of themselves as good American citizens—to take a prompt and unequivocal stand against the revival of the Ku Klux Klan. If we do this, the Klan can be stopped now, instead of after years of suffering, bitterness and probable bloodshed by groups of American citizens.

Evelyn Miller Crowell lives in Dallas County, Texas. A free-lance writer, she is the author of two books. She was director of the Research Bureau of the Democratic National Committee in 1940.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Ilya Ehrenburg on American Writers

by Kathleen Scofield Louchheim

BETWEEN THE TWO world wars, the only really great literature was produced in the United States, Ilya Ehrenburg told me when I finally caught up with him. He slouched in a chair facing me, smoking a cigar. Occasionally he picked up a wooden toy and moved its head in mock "yes" or "no" to my questions. The small hotel room was overflowing; suitcases were piled in all corners, unremoved breakfast dishes barricaded the door. Despite space limitations, friends wandered in and out and seemed to find places to perch. Through it all the woman secretary sat patiently telephoning away about plans and arrangements.

"The great American writers," he continued in fluent French, "Hemingway, Faulkner, Caldwell and Steinbeck, are like the skyscrapers in the small towns all over America. Their pure strength and exotic prose bear as little relationship to what the average American writer produces and the masses of Americans read as the skyscrapers do to the one-story houses that surround them on the small-town main streets. In Europe we may have no skyscrapers"—he likes this analogy—"but we have more two, three, four and even eight-story houses. In France and Russia, there is more good writing at lower levels. Take any European magazine, for instance; it's better than the type of periodical turned out here. The ordinary literary diet of the masses here is poor: witness the popularity of *Life* and similar publications. Your greatest problem is to raise the educational level of the average man so he can and will read the great writers."

Why has Mr. Ehrenburg selected these particular writers as our greatest? Is it because they write so well about the average man? "But what else"—he gives us one of his rare smiles—"is there to write about but *l'homme moyen*'? What, for instance, did Chekhov write about, if not that?"

Kathleen Scofield Louchheim went overseas to visit DP camps in her capacity as special assistant to the director of public relations of UNRRA. She has recently resigned from UNRRA and is now free-lancing.

Are there particular qualities of style that he admires in these four? He is an author, he replies, not a critic, but certainly Hemingway has originated a type of "artistic dialogue" which he has so exquisitely perfected that the reader comes to believe that people actually talk that way. Someone once asked him whether he had been influenced by Hemingway. "Of course," he replied. "It is obvious no one could read his books and not be influenced by him. Furthermore, an author quite properly is influenced by everything and everybody. He observes everything and everyone he sees."

I asked about the popularity of the great four in the Soviet Union. Of them, he said, Hemingway is the best known. He is read by all Soviet writers and great numbers of the people. Steinbeck and Caldwell are widely read too, but Faulkner, unfortunately, has not yet been translated; a deplorable lack which he hoped would be remedied. What he finds most unusual about Faulkner's writing is his careful analysis of his central characters; his treatment of them is quite special, in that he deliberately criticizes and analyzes them for the reader.

What about current literary trends in the Soviet Union? Mr. Ehrenburg says many books are now being written—but during the war there was not much time for writing books. There was little creative prose written during the war years; the literary output was mainly poetry. "We didn't have time to create literature," he adds. "We had to defend it." He, for instance, spent all of the war years at the front without a break. His secretary once counted a total output of three thousand articles written during that period.

The two most important Soviet writers today, the dean of Soviet writers said, are Michael Sholokhov and Vassili Grossman. Sholokhov is at work on a book called *Food for the Land* and Grossman is writing a novel entitled *The Destiny of the People.* Both men have been translated into English; Sholokhov's *Seeds of Tomorrow* and *And Quiet Flows the Don* and Grossman's *No Beautiful Nights* are known to American readers.

Which are more widely read by the Soviet youth, their moderns or the classic Russian writers? The classics, he replies—Turgenev, Chekhov, Tolstoy. Not Dostoevsky? I asked. No, not so much. Dostoevsky is a little too morbid for their taste. Not even *Crime and Punishment,* my favorite novel? He smiles as he answers, "No—not with the present housing shortage. It is better not to read *Crime and Punishment* unless one has two rooms, one for the book and one for one's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

self. How could you go to bed and sleep, with that book across the room? And alas, it is not possible in the USSR today to get two rooms."

Will he write about the United States when he returns to the Soviet Union? Not now, he answers. Eventually he will write some novels about the United States, but for the present he'll continue working on the long novel begun before his trip to this country. He gets up to show me his brief case crammed with papers. That is it. It deals with the individual destinies of ordinary people during the war years. It is a long novel covering the period from 1939 to 1945, and takes place in France and in Russia and on the fighting fronts. He apologizes to Shakespeare for stealing his title: it is called *The Tempest.*

As I leave, I express the hope that he will return. "Oh yes," he assures me. He likes it here very much, he will surely come back.

Britain, the Arabs and the Jews

by R. H. S. Crossman

The article below, although written before the latest developments in connection with the Grand Mufti, throws a valuable light on those developments. The author, a member of the British Parliament, served on the Anglo-American Commission, whose report on Palestine was published a few weeks ago. He is a former assistant editor of the New Statesman and Nation, *from which this article is reprinted.* – THE EDITORS

CAN WE AFFORD to throw the Arab League into the arms of the Soviet Union?"

This is one of those questions which cannot be answered with a plain "yes" or "no." The Arab League is not a well knit unit of Arab states with a common foreign policy or even with common aims. Indeed, there is only one issue on which there is any agreement in the League—anti-Zionism. Even here, however, behind the façade of public unity there are sharp differences of attitude. The Egyptians, for instance, will give moral support to the Palestinian Arabs, but, as Azzam Pasha made clear recently, they are not for a moment prepared to jeopardize their own negotiations with Great Britain. The Iraqis, on the other hand, whose economic interests are genuinely affected by Palestinian developments, would probably be prepared to join actively in a campaign of violence if it were not for the Kurdish threat. Similarly, there is little in common between the primitive and ferocious—but also somewhat remote—anti-Zionism of Ibn Saud and the maneuvering of the Amir Abdulla of Transjordan, who has everything to gain by coming to an understanding with the Jews of Palestine. When the propaganda barrage is over and the moment for action arrives, there is not much likelihood of any real agreement among the members of the League.

The simple picture, therefore, of the Arab League as a compact organization with an Arab policy is a dangerous delusion. In reality the League is a collection of Middle Eastern states, with a common culture and with certain common and certain conflicting interests. In social structure and economic development these Arab states vary from the royal tribalism of Saudi Arabia to the complex class conflict of Egypt. What binds the Arabs of all these states together is a passionate and growing determination to cease to be mere objects of foreign imperialism and to become masters of their own fate. What divides the states one from another, and even more deeply the factions and classes within each state, are the methods to be used in accomplishing this purpose. The older generation of politicians, many of them trained in clan leadership, blood feuds and guerrilla warfare, still treat politics as a matter of personal deals and personal alliances, and genuinely regret the break-up of the Ottoman Empire. The younger generation, drawn chiefly from the graduates of Cairo and Beirut and deeply influenced by Western social science, are far more ardently nationalist than their elders. But they recognize that social reconstruction is an essential part of any genuine national liberation and they are seeking to create political parties based not on family loyalty but on Western democratic organizations. So far, power has remained almost entirely in the hands of the elder and more cynical politicians.

ONE OF our main troubles in the Middle East is the British inclination to fall in love with all that is decadent in Arab civilization and to disregard or dislike the new, less charming and less subservient features. In Jerusalem, for instance, British officials find it far easier to mix socially with the small, highly civilized coterie which runs Arab politics than with the tough, hard-headed businessmen and socialists of the Jewish Agency. "After all," as one extremely intelligent police officer said to me, "the old Arab has decent manners and we know we are his master. But the damned Jew is twice as able as most of us and he reminds us of it every day." This sort of "pro-Arabism" is not really a love of the Arabs at all. It is a concealed anti-Semitism, even more insulting to the Arabs than

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to the Jews. Arab politicians, no doubt, find it convenient to exploit our supercilious "friendship" in order to defeat the Jews; but it is not a basis on which any real collaboration can be built between Britain and the Arabs, either in Palestine or in any other Middle Eastern state.

Mr. Bevin has frequently expressed his conviction that the task of Labor's Foreign Secretary is to raise the standard of living of the millions of illiterate *fellahin* who make up the overwhelming majority of the Arab peoples. But before Mr. Bevin took office, the map, on which the diplomat was instructed to fix his eye, showed not the economic and industrial potentialities of the country in which he was serving, but the disposition of British troops, airfields and pipelines. The Arab states were regarded as a vital "protective" zone in the event of war with any great power which threatened Suez. Independence was granted to one Arab state after another, not because it was seriously argued that these states were ripe for independence, or that it would benefit the *fellahin*, but as a bid to win the loyalty of Arab politicians and princes.

Unfortunately, owing to the attitude of our representatives on the spot and the timing of these concessions, we made only too clear the opportunist character of our diplomacy. Even the 1939 White Paper on Palestine failed completely to win Arab confidence or loyalty, because no Arab could fail to see that it was a piece of pure expediency, a concession granted not because we thought it just—which it obviously was not—but because we desired to reduce the number of divisions required in this area in the event of war with Germany.

By completely disregarding the genuine interests of the Arab states, by not even attempting to find and develop common economic interests between them and Great Britain, Britain has taught the Arab politicians to distrust her word and to assume that she will always treat them as pawns in the opening gambit of the next world war. But the puppets fashioned by "realistic" British diplomacy have begun, like Frankenstein's monster, to terrorize their creator, by threatening, unless they get what they want, to change over, first to the German and then to the Russian side. Having given the Arabs independence and created the Arab League solely in order to provide strategic defenses for the Empire, we find that the League is constantly endangering the Empire and constantly in need of appeasement.

THE REMEDY is easy to state but difficult to achieve, though a good start has been made in Egypt. The Labor government must convince the Arab world that its policy is based on something better than military opportunism, and that Arab friendship is, in its eyes, not merely an expedient, forced on us by our fears of Russian expansion, but something from which both we and the Arab can win concrete economic and social benefits. The Arabs have a genuine liking for Britain. But they also have a deep sense of truth and justice, and a bitter contempt, disguised often by their excellent manners, for a great power which sacrifices principles for expediency. If a great power shows this lamentable tendency, they will, with the greatest relish, extract the last ounce of appeasement from it. Then, if it pays them, they will throw the great power over, because, as they reasonably argue, pure opportunism must be a two-sided relationship. If Britain indulges in it, so must they. If, for instance, against our better judgment and our sense of justice, we were to decide, purely out of fear of Russian influence, to assist them in liquidating the [Jewish] National Home, we should not, by this show of weakness, either win their respect or ensure that our troops can be moved from Egypt into a loyal Arab Palestine. The Mufti did not lead his guerrillas against the British army for three years in order to ensure their permanent presence in what he regards as an exclusively Arab country. The next stage in the game of beggar-my-neighbor would be the return of the Mufti to Jerusalem and the demand for a British withdrawal from Palestine itself.

IN BRIEF, the only sound British strategy in the Middle East is a sound political policy. Our policy-makers and diplomats, by a self-denying ordinance, should forbid themselves to study military maps or to count up divisions, and should turn their attention to irrigation, trade and social welfare. They should not forget the weakness of the position of the ruling class in many Arab states, and they should give positive encouragement to the progressive forces among the middle classes, the students and the skilled workers, whose contempt for British opportunism is only equaled by their hatred for the machinations of their own politicians. The way to prevent the Arab world from swinging over to Russia is not to pay blackmail in Palestine, but to convince the Arabs, throughout the Middle East, that they have something to gain in terms of social welfare and economic freedom from friendship and collaboration with Great Britain.

Such a policy will find little support among most of the puppet governments created by Mr. Bevin's predecessors. These politicians are often as little interested in the *fellahin* as the British officials with whom they associate. But though the change in attitude will take years to achieve and will provoke acute difficulties, it must be made firmly and consistently; and if there are officials on the spot unable to understand this new policy, they must be replaced by men who can. Otherwise the decision to evacuate our troops from Egypt, which could be the beginning of a new era of genuine Anglo-Arab friendship, will be regarded by the Arabs—and therefore be in fact—only another step in the fatal process of appeasement.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Lightning Hits Billy Conn

ONCE, dreaming with morphine after an operation, I believed the night climbed through the window and into my room like a second-story worker. I thought all the night had forsaken the world and, shaped like a fat man, walked through my face and up into my mind. The night had the dirty color of sickness and had no face at all as it strolled in my brain. It gradually lost the identity of a man, blowing apart the way smoke does on a windy day. It became a smelly blackness, shoving itself into the corners of my subconscious like a man breaking down a door with his shoulder. It hurt me as I lay there, feeling the brightness of the room. But the filthy night stayed in my mind and I lived in it alone.

I remembered that last night in Yankee Stadium when Joe Louis knocked out Billy Conn in the eighth round of a fight that had been tautly dull, the way the slow hours are for reporters sitting on a stoop and waiting for a man to die. I felt that old dream coming from a long way off and finding not me, but Billy Conn, who lay in the spurious day of the ring lights and had the aching blackness all to himself.

It ceased to be sport when Louis let the big right go, then another cobblestone of a right and then the left hook as Conn fell off the rim of the conscious and crumpled into the dark privacy of the night he alone possessed. It was like watching a friend of yours being run over by a trolley car, watching it coming and knowing what would happen but looking at it quietly, the curiosity dominating the horror and compelling you to be attentively silent. Maybe it was sudden, but it was there all the time, the knockout inevitable and sure. It was there all the time like the rain in the night that never fell out of the starless sky.

All the big people waited for this plotted accident to happen and down front in the $100 seats was Bernard Baruch and close to him sat a guy who held up banks and now is a legitimate man because they don't put you in jail for selling whisky any more. Stand up and look back out of the press row and there they were, all the big people waiting for this controlled violence, licensed and sanctioned by the laws of the state.

Waiting for it to break out was the old man of the council tables, where they speak as though the world were Billy Conn, and Joe Louis the atom stopping the breathing and the living as the world breaks into nothing. The old man sat there among the thieves and the good people and the truly talented and the Broadway trash and the black-market peerage, the cabinet member and the Hollywood people. All forgetting what they know and some what they did and the world rotting with the hatred of the man for himself. So they were there and it was a night out for them at $100 a chair on the grass of the ball park.

So there they were at $100 a look, but back of them were empty places in the cheaper seats when Billy Conn first came into the ring. He wore a white, green-bordered satin bathrobe and it gleamed under the lights where a lonely moth flew in circles as though indicating to Conn what he should do. They were there with him, those who trained him and live off him, the guy from the corner of Pitt and Dennison in East Liberty, a paid-up member of the Peabody Club, which is a pool room where horse players come to shoot pool.

Johnny Ray, the manager, aimlessly moved around the ring, the name of his fighter in green-blocked letters on the black half-sleeved jersey. He was white with anxiety and seemed to be weak with nervousness as he laid his flabby white arm along the rope and looked into Conn's face as though he were trying to remember the features before they were destroyed.

Then Louis came in, big in his flashily red-edged blue robe of silk, a towel wrapped loosely around his head and moving in the wind of the night. They sat there, and the 45,266 around them on the plains of the playing field and up in the stands mumbled with impatience and expectancy and now and then a lonely shout, blurred by the distance, came down to the ringside. Now the soles of Conn's shoes were being scraped by Billy Joss, a second with an emaciated face. There was a delay because Manny Seamon was tying the laces of Louis' gloves and Conn was standing up, moving his arms slowly, the bathrobe off, and you noticed that was a thick cord of fat hanging off his belly when he moved.

They came to the center in the old ritual, the microphone dropped so Eddie Joseph, the referee, could be heard telling them in a gruffly self-conscious voice what would happen if a foul were committed. Louis had a white bathrobe under the blue one and he still wore the towel and Seaman pulled that away when they went to their corners.

It was a first round of comedy, but there was no humor in it. In that round Conn flapped his left glove into Louis for the first punch of the fight and when they clinched Conn was talking to the empty-faced champion, whose mouth twitched as he pushed Conn away.

"What's your hurry, Joe?" Conn asked, muttering through the mouthpiece. "We got fifteen rounds to go."

As they moved in a polite dance of caution, looking at each other as though they were angry men about to argue instead of punch, I saw the puckers of fat where Louis' arms join his shoulders and his stomach moved when his legs did, as though it were not part of him but a slab of meat tied around his waist. . . .

In the fourth, Louis' lance of a jab began to slip into Conn's face. Once Billy slipped as he moved backwards

---

Jimmy Cannon, born and bred in New York's tough Lower East Side, is the featured sports columnist for the Post. *In 1941 he entered the Army, eventually going overseas for the* Stars and Stripes, *and before long his caustic front-line dispatches had made him popular with the GI's. His story on the Louis-Conn fight appeared in the New York* Post *and other papers. We reprint most of it, with the permission of the* Post, *as an exciting story and a good piece of writing.* — THE EDITORS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and Louis politely waited for him to rise, the way a standing man takes an introduction to someone sitting at a table. They touched gloves and Conn smiled, but it was a grin of sadness. In the fifth, Louis hit him with another couple of rights and this time the smile was slow and the lips moved more in agony than anything else.

In the eighth, Conn came to the end of the journey that started back on the street corner in Pittsburgh and ended here in tarnished glory because there was nothing in him but an arrogance that at times was wonderful but always sad. It was a bugle blown, and no one answered, and something incomplete and detached from the kid from Pittsburgh who was stricken with old age at 28 last night.

The finish came, unexpected because it destroyed a man, but not suddenly, because Conn was always the hunted, who escaped only temporarily from the trap. The right, the right again, and then the left, against the jaw of the falling man.

He was on his back, the blood running all over him and Joseph was counting and his voice was the timekeeper's hoarse echo. Conn's beaten body moved in his special night, the senses groping for the light and he was rising, boneless and helpless when the number 10 was reached.

The tumult of excited men was in Louis' dressing room and he sat on a rubbing table, taking slow, small swallows out of a big bottle of mineral water.

"You finally picked the round," he said to me. "It's about time."

The flashlights were going and the reporters pressed in asking questions. Joe answered them, bending over in laughter now and then, calm and dignified and not gloating but trying to tell it the way it happened.

"I'm going out this round and fight," Louis said when someone asked him why he had closed in quickly after following Conn with a slow languor. "That's what I told my corner. I wanted to see if he could take it. He was a better fighter the first time. He didn't hurt me."

There was a cut across Conn's nose, which had been broken before, and they were working on his eye. But he was laughing and cynical with a wit that denounced himself. He did not change, Conn. Not even having Louis catch his jabs like snowballs thrown by a child could shut off his humor.

"He fixed me, didn't he?" Conn asked.

"When did he hurt you?" a reporter asked.

"When he hit me," he answered, sneering.

"What are you going to do?" a reporter said.

"He racked up my cue for me," Conn said.

"Are you going to fight again?"

"As lousy as I was," Conn said, "and you're asking that. I should reënlist in the Army I was so lousy tonight."

Over in the corner, Milton Jaffe, his co-manager, pale and trembling with confusion, stood back behind the photographers and watched the fighter talk as though relating something that was comical that had happened to someone else.

"He ain't fighting any more," Milton said. "There's an easier way to make a dollar than this. He had nothing tonight."

JIMMY CANNON

The Bandwagon

"Are you going to follow the teachings of the disciples of the Savior, or are you going to follow the teachings of the disciples of Karl Marx?" the railroad president [Martin W. Clement, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad] demanded of his hearers, most of them members of the railroad brotherhoods which recently struck the Pennsylvania Railroad. "You will have to choose, you cannot do both," Clement adjured. . . . "You cannot have collective bargaining as a part of your religion." – *From the Philadelphia* Record.

BOWLES SEES INFLATION "DELUGE"
UNDER PROPOSED LEGISLATION
– *Headline in the Washington* Post.

BOWLES DECLARES
INFLATION HALTED
– *Headline in the New York* Times. *Same story, same day.*

Signs of the Times

M. T. HOPE
REAL ESTATE
– *Sign on N. Y. Highway 22.*

Hands Across the Sea

Out of contacts of this sort, plus the curiosity and courtesy which even the roughest Russian peasant shows to foreigners he may meet, there has grown a legend. It is that Russians under the skin are just like Americans—at the most uncouth, just like Texas cowboys, and at the most cultivated, just eager learners anxious for us to enlighten them. This is both silly and dangerous. It implies that we are dealing with a people whose outlook and mental equipment is comfortably akin to ours. – *From an editorial by Joseph B. Phillips in* Newsweek.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Progressives and Communists in California

SIR: The recent California election has provided some of the best proof in support of James Loeb's warning that American progressives must oppose the admission of Communists to progressive organizations. These organizations took a tremendous beating in the recent California primaries. The errors that caused the setback were errors into which sincere progressives were maneuvered by small Communist minorities within progressive organizations. . . .

The tragedy of all this is that it is the liberals who pay—in canceled memberships, future indifference to political matters and so on. . . . The Communists have demonstrated again and again that they simply cannot be trusted to work for the agreed aims of any non-Marxist organization. They—by the very nature of their beliefs—are like political Holy Rollers whose fanaticism cannot be brought into harness for effective teamwork with others not similarly dedicated, or similarly fanatical in eyes-closed Hallelujah faith. Invariably, whenever the agreed aims of the organization come into conflict with their special political religion, the organization itself comes second.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I have no quarrel with Communists as such. I should like to see them stick to their own party groups and stand up for their dedications and ideologies—taking whatever victories or defeats an honest espousal of their cause brings them. What I object to most violently is what we in California have seen again—the little tail wagging the big dog because "independent liberals simply will not group themselves into a disciplined, semi-conspiratorial caucus whose aim is to retain or obtain control of the organization," as Loeb so accurately described it.

That sort of thing puts liberals in the position of having to do guard duty at all times in their own living room. It is almost impossible to live in a house like that—in a house where you can't leave the living room for a moment without wondering whether the guest will be out hocking the family heirlooms before you can get back. . . .

Beverly Hills, Calif. ART ARTHUR

SIR: The real split in the ranks of American liberals is not between communists and progressives, as James Loeb Jr. asserts in your issue of May 13. Rather, it is between competents and incompetents. The contrary impression results from the success of the latter in raising a Goebbels-like smoke screen.

The old-time liberals, with whom Mr. Loeb identifies himself, are thinkers, not doers. Their idea of action is a semi-annual mass meeting (featuring a Senator or cabinet member with whom they can appear on the platform and be photographed), letters to congressmen and distribution of tons and tons of literature. They have a lot of fun but, as any regular political leader knows, have but slight nuisance value.

Their organizations, of which there must be thousands, are dedicated theoretically to the cause of democracy; yet they are usually the most undemocratic set-ups to be found anywhere in American life today. . . . Anyone who suggests either that the organizational set-up be made more democratic or that the activities become more practical is suspected or accused of communism. . . .

Chicago, Ill. CURTIS D. MACDOUGALL

$64-Dollar Questionnaire

SIR: Since we in Texas are completely dependent on out-of-state news media for any bi-partisan information we get, we ask the help of your readers on some questions which have *not* been discussed in the Texas press:

1. In the railroad dispute, is the President's inference true that only *one* side (labor) balked at settlement?
2. *Why* were the 44 demands of the railroad unions not printed in our newspapers down here? What were they?
3. Is it true that Mr. A. F. Whitney and Mr. Alvanley Johnston alone called the strike, or was there a vote by the union membership?
4. Was a proposed solution by the government ever accepted by the unions and refused by the operators?
5. Has Congress provided legislation to penalize the meat packers, lumber producers and clothing manufacturers for "striking against the government" (OPA)?
6. In an action that we heard nothing of in Texas, did the President and the Congress act against the general producers' strike against producing war materials in the summer of 1940, until the Vinson-Trammell Act (limiting profits to eight per-cent) was repealed?
7. Is there a simple explanation to harmonize current efforts to take the Associated Press *from* under provisions of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and place unions *under* the Act?
8. In using loss of Wagner Act privileges as a "fine" for labor violations of the President's anti-strike proposals, *who* "collects the fine" (benefits)—the government or private business?
9. Is it easily explained why Congress took just four days to pass the tax-rebate bill (guaranteeing industrial profits for a two-year period, regardless of production), and many months in which it has *failed* to enact any considerable part of the President's 21-point social legislative program in the form requested?
10. Does anyone have any suggestions to improve a situation which requires 148,536 votes in Illinois (1940) to elect one elector, while 19,536 votes to do it in Mississippi? Would Mr. Bilbo have any suggestions on this point?
11. Is it considered the "latest thing" in democracy to have a *military* ambassador (General Smith) to Russia, a *military* acting ambassador (General Marshall) dealing with China on her loan, and a *military* man (General Eisenhower) suggested as the next Secretary of State?

As one who has never belonged to a union and who is not an "expert" on government, but is interested in all possible information which justifies working under bayonets, I should appreciate any help readers can give in solving these problems.

Fort Worth, Tex. DICK JAY

[To Mr. Jay and other Texas readers who suffer from the journalistic drought in that state, we recommend the *Texas Spectator* (Austin), a hard-hitting, liberal paper.—THE EDITORS]

Farber on Chagall

SIR: Manny Farber's appraisal of Chagall (the *New Republic*, May 13) was one of the most gratifying things I've read in, unhappily, a long time. It's refreshing to find someone who not only seems to understand the values of form, color harmony, etc., but who isn't intimidated by the vastness of Chagall's reputation. Such intelligent, honest reporting ought to go a long way toward demonstrating that not *all* modern art is as puerile as the Chagall productions.

New York City JEAN PHARR

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Wendell Nickell writes from Lawrence, Kansas, to tell us of an encouraging example of the work that is being done to educate the American people on atomic-energy legislation. He says, "Dr. Hilden Gibson, political science, of the University of Kansas, with the aid of scientists Hume and Jorgenson, of the Manhattan Project, organized . . . a series of atomic-energy conferences throughout the state. Civic leaders and prominent men and women . . . were invited to attend these conferences, held in eight cities . . . the attendance was almost 100 percent of those invited. The incredible thoroughness of the conferences was shown by the fact that at every one the group adopted unanimously a resolution supporting the McMahon bill and the Acheson Report. This means that over 1,600 of the state's active leaders have been firmly convinced of the urgency of the situation and have agreed on the steps to be taken."

Lew Wallace, Democratic National Committeeman from Oregon, writes that our last congressional supplement listed Homer Angel as a Democrat. Mr. Wallace says that Representative Angel is a Republican and adds, "Mr. Angel seems to be in a lot of trouble in the *New Republic*, but nothing to the trouble he will be in this fall, as I am his Democratic opponent."

Kenneth Clark of *PM* writes that a Bandwagon item (the *New Republic*, May 13) erroneously attributed to him an interview with Frau Blomberg. The article, he says, "was a rewrite from the United Press, and while grateful for the fame, I must protest same."

MARTINSON'S
"LOVE THAT COFFEE"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books in Review

The Soviet Economy

ALEXANDER BAYKOV is a Russian economist who left his native country in 1920 and has been devoting himself almost ever since to the study of the Soviet economy. From 1922 to 1939, he worked in Prague, where source material from the Soviet Union has always been much more abundant than in the Western countries; and in 1939 he removed to England, where he is now teaching at Birmingham University. In the Preface of the book under review[1], Mr. Baykov confesses that "the appreciation of current economic events and measures, by myself as well as by other authors, was liable to be wrong, when these events and measures were considered in isolation and not in association with the general course of development of the entire national economy of the USSR." In this book, therefore, Mr. Baykov has set himself the task of reviewing systematically the "general course of development of the entire national economy" from the Revolution to the outbreak of the war. The result, I believe, is at once the most objective and the most authoritative work yet to appear in English on the subject.

It must be admitted that *The Development of the Soviet Economic System* is not easy reading; not only is it crammed full of facts and figures—drawn, incidentally, entirely from first-hand sources—but also the organization and presentation are pedantic and uninspired. Moreover, Mr. Baykov is not given to generalization, preferring to hope that "the material presented will enable the reader to draw his own conclusions and generalizations." For these reasons, added to the absurdly high price for which the volume sells, the work is unlikely to be widely read outside of a small group of specialists; and even in the case of economists and historians who have a keen interest in Soviet developments, it will probably be regarded primarily as a valuable reference work to be consulted on need but not to be studied from beginning to end.

This is unfortunate because Mr. Baykov really has a very important thesis to expound, a thesis which he builds up cumulatively through a process of selecting and emphasizing facts and which he nowhere sets down in generalized form. That thesis, briefly put, is that the Soviet leadership, starting with the abstract idea of socialist economic planning, has gradually transformed it into a highly effective and extraordinarily flexible system of institutions, techniques and personnel. Mr. Baykov shows, with a scientific objectivity which is as admirable as it is rare in matters concerning the Soviet Union, that this transformation, this realization of an idea, has been a long, costly, often painful process of trial and error; while at the same time it has been a constructive process in which each challenge has in the end called forth a triumphant response and in which the whole of Soviet society has, through the medium of purposeful social activity, remade itself and lifted itself to an incomparably higher level than that from which it started. This achievement can, roughly speaking, be divided into two parts: on the one hand, the building up of a viable and efficient network of economic institutions (industrial commissariats and trusts, collective farms, coöperative and state trading bodies, trade unions, the state bank, etc.); and on the other hand, the development of methods of planning and control which make it possible to coördinate these various institutional parts into a smoothly functioning machine serving common social goals. Mr. Baykov describes how the Soviet leadership, starting under seemingly insuperable handicaps, accomplished both these objectives with a spirit of determination and singleness of purpose which one is inclined to believe must be almost unique in history.

Mr. Baykov, though he subtitles his book "An Essay on the Experience of Planning in the USSR," has very little to say about the broad historical significance of the Soviet achievement; and yet the reader can hardly put the book down without reflecting on this fascinating question. In many ways the successful development of a planned economy in the Soviet Union invites comparison with other great social "inventions" of the past: the city state in ancient Greece, the nation state in medieval France and England, parliamentary government and industrial capitalism in modern Britain, the constitutional federal state in the United States, to name a few which immediately spring to mind. Perhaps the most striking, and by no means the least important, feature of all these "inventions" is that, while their origins are relatively easy to localize, their influence may justly be described as universal. They call forth an infinite variety of positive and negative reactions: sometimes they are borrowed and adapted to new environments, sometimes they are rejected and resisted; in either case, they operate to change the world into which they are born. It is already clear, I think, that the Soviet "invention" of planned economy stands second to none in its capacity to evoke responses, both creative and destructive, in the various segments and strata which constitute the world of which the USSR is a part. This high potency is due in part to the fact that planned economy, being the conscious creation of social intelligence, can be deliberately and relatively easily taken over and adapted to the most diverse environments; in part to the fact that by its very nature it constitutes a mortal threat to the privileges and power of the ruling class in a predominantly capitalist world.

Americans hardly need to be told about the fear and hatred which Soviet economic successes have aroused in the breasts of capitalists and their spokesmen; they need only read their own daily press. But, for closely related reasons, they are hardly aware that the Soviet achievement has stimulated an altogether different reaction, which, if successfully carried through, may exert a profound effect even on the Western countries which Americans are wont to think of as relatively impervious to direct Soviet influence.

[1] The Development of the Soviet Economic System, by Alexander Baykov. New York: The Macmillan Company (for the Cambridge University Press). 514 pages. $6.50.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In this connection, Czechoslovakia is clearly the key country. Ever since the Middle Ages, the land of the Czechs and Slovaks has formed an integral part of "Western civilization"; and of all the new states which emerged from World War I, Czechoslovakia alone was able to create a stable and liberal democracy on the Western pattern. It now seems clear that Czechoslovakia is to be the first nation with such a background to take over and adapt to its own conditions the Soviet "invention" of planned economy.

The country possesses a strong industrial base whch has already been largely nationalized; it has a large and skilled working class; the recent elections have ensured that it will have, at least for a considerable time, a government with a socialist majority under the leadership of a self-confident Communist Party which is thoroughly familiar with both Czechoslovakia and the USSR; most important of all, it can walk upright and with firm step along the path which the Soviet Union has blazed often at the cost of long delays, terrible sacrifice and grievous injury. Assuming no intervening international catastrophe, Czechoslovakia may possess in a surprisingly few years a planned socialist economy plus the democratic liberties which the Western countries rightly hold so dear. This is not the place to speculate on the possible outcome of such a development; I think enough has been said to indicate that Mr. Baykov's book indirectly raises some of the most important questions of our time.

Everyone can learn much from this book, but socialists and progressives should be especially urged to study it carefully for the aid which it can give them in defining the goals of their own political activity. It raises the hope that mankind can begin in the visible future to reap the rewards of the socialist seeds which the Soviet people have sown and labored over during the past three decades. It is Mr. Baykov's merit that he analyzes and describes this Soviet labor with infinite concern for accuracy of detail, with cool objectivity and with a maturity of judgment that is the product of a quarter-century of research and reflection.

PAUL M. SWEEZY

Happy Birthday

New Directions 9, edited by James Laughlin. New York: New Directions. 415 pages. $3.75.

THERE HAVE always been some excellent things in the New Directions anthologies. The present volume, which seems to me far better at least than its last two predecessors, has in fact more good essays, stories and poems than one could possibly do justice to in a short review. It may be the end of the war, or the end of the experimental vein which New Directions has been mining the last ten years—Mr. Laughlin himself admits that it is just about all used up—that is responsible for the noticeable improvement in the quality of New Directions material. This year's best pieces include an essay on publishing by James T. Farrell, a study of Rimbaud by Henry Miller, poetry by Paul Eluard, Alex Comfort and a group of Mexican poets, and stories by Franz Kafka, John Berryman and William Carlos Williams.

Farrell's essay on publishing is a study, based on a report in the trade-journal *Tide*, of the trend toward greater commercialization and huge combines among the leading houses. It urges serious writers to stick by their guns, and not to be discouraged by the Hollywood tie-ins, the universal cheapening and deterioration of publishing. Farrell insists that there will always remain a need for good writing; it will weather all adversities and force even the greediest publishers to come to terms with it. A heartening essay and, within its limits, a convincing one.

Henry Miller's study of Rimbaud redeems the failure of his most recent book, *The Air-Conditioned Nightmare*, an undistinguished piece of work. With Rimbaud, Miller returns to a more congenial topic than he finds in the United States, expands in his familiar direction of the esthete's or bohemian's social protest and reveals what I think is some good insight into Rimbaud's motive for deserting poetry at the height of his adolescent career. Miller has absorbed a French manner and combined it with his own: the play of fancy about a hypothesis. He does good work only when the play is controlled and the hypothesis is not absurd—as is the case in the present essay.

Paul Eluard is a great enough poet to survive bad translation. Mr. Laughlin says that the translations of Eluard in this number were hastily prepared; it can be seen that Eluard is under any circumstances a poet very difficult to translate. The beauty of his poems depends upon the swiftness and unobstructed clarity of their succession of images. The often violent subject matter of these poems (they deal with the French resistance) presents an additional difficulty. There is now a bruised tone, which makes Eluard's idiom that much harder to capture. The Mexican poets, I should say, are better translated; their syntax and imagery are of a more conventional order than Eluard's. (The difficulty of translation is never so much to reproduce an image as to catch its subtle and often unexpressed relation to other images, in short, its movement, by means of overtones in the selection of words—which overtones are seldom available in the language of translation.) Alex Comfort's poem, "The Soldiers," to take only one of a number of others that crowd for mention, bids fair to become the "Flanders Field," at a much higher level, of World War II, provided we are not too eager for No. III.

"The Rejection," the longest of the three fables by Franz Kafka, is, I should think, one of his best, and is closely related in mood and symbolism to his major work, notably *The Castle* and "The Great Wall of China." John Berryman's story, "The Lovers," is distinguished by its style, which is in a tradition developed through James and Proust and which *New Directions* in its earlier experimental days tried very hard to stay clear of. Nothing in recent experimental prose has attained the level of the more traditional younger writers, among whom Mr. Berryman deserves a high place. (The word "new" seems to be giving way to "young"—and the young in our time are seldom radical). William Carlos Williams' story, "Comedy Entombed," is in the vein of genuine Americana that he has worked so well. Williams illustrates the paradox that the older writers are "newer" than the younger ones—although his newness is by now a settled American idiom.

Of the more typical New Directions features, only a few are worth while. I found the verse plays by Kenneth Rexroth and Herbert Cahoon rather trying. Kenneth Patchen's selection from "Sleepers Awake on the Precipice" is in his usual manner, and not worth the effort that he has put into

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it. Paul Goodman's story, "The Knight," does not come up to his earlier work, published recently in *The Facts of Life*. Jack Jones, a young "new" writer, has a story without capitals, and without a good deal else that a story should have. David T. Bazelon's story, "Life's Other Kingdom," is also in the familiar New Directions line, but written in the younger traditional manner. A dream sequence, its interest lies in the fact that it does not overly exploit a ready-to-hand Freudian method.

This volume marks the tenth anniversary of *New Directions*. The next few years should show whether there is anything left to do in the old "new" manner; and whether the young writers, such as even *New Directions* feels obliged to print, are returning to the techniques of the nineteenth century. Already *New Directions* has begun to reprint material from magazines like *Kenyon Review* and *Rocky Mountain Review*—an official admission, perhaps, that an era is at an end, or a move toward consolidation of what is good in writing, old and new, against what is commercial, vulgar and rotten. ISAAC ROSENFELD

Five Men, Five Nations

Prophets and Peoples, by Hans Kohn. New York: The Macmillan Company. 213 pages. $2.50.

CONTINUING his monumental excursions into the history and dynamics of nationalism, Professor Kohn looks into the brand of nationalism voiced during the last century in England, France, Italy, Germany and Russia by J. S. Mill, Jules Michelet, Giuseppe Mazzini, Heinrich von Treitschke and Fyodor Dostoevsky respectively. To Professor Kohn, each of these men was a "national prophet" who "expressed the genius of his people or at least an important and representative aspect of it." Each one was recognized and acclaimed in his own time as a national spokesman." The author of *Prophets and Peoples* is careful to point out that "it would be a dangerous mistake to assume that any one [of the five] represents the whole image of his nation and its trends." Nations are a complex of many cross-currents of thought and of many aspirations. "And yet," Kohn believes, "there is . . . over centuries and decades a very definite constancy and consistency in national character, a national 'idea.' 'National prophets' express such ideas in their words and often in their lives and call for better realization of the ideas; these ideas thus become the . . . goal of national life. . . ."

Prophets and Peoples, based on lectures the author gave at Northwestern University, breaks down into an introductory statement and five chapters, each devoted to a brief life of the "national prophet" in question and to an explanation of how the prophet was a part of the very warp and woof of his country. Extreme nationalism first reached full flower in the nineteenth century. In the eighteenth, the oustanding voices were those of men who spoke for all mankind. Voltaire, for example, was less a Frenchman than a European or a world citizen. But Michelet, though occupied with progressive ideals, drew his strength from a vibrant nationalism which caused him to regard his native Paris as the logical center of the world and the hub of humankind. Similarly, the mystical Mazzini dreamed of a Rome mighter than ever the Caesars knew which would

Red Army will Collapse in 3 Months!

That's what we were told in June 1941. That misconception was one of the products of the greatest conspiracy of modern times. That conspiracy helped bring about Fascism and World War II. The conspiracy is still going on. *This time it can bring the world down around our ears.*

The Great Conspiracy against Russia bares the whole record of international intrigue against Soviet Russia from the Revolution of 1917 up to the present minute. It is crammed with fact, thoroughly documented. It is a sensational story involving spies, saboteurs and assassins told with the lightning pace of a thrilling novel.

THE GREAT CONSPIRACY AGAINST RUSSIA

$1.00 WHEREVER BOOKS ARE SOLD

by MICHAEL SAYERS and ALBERT KAHN

Authors of "Sabotage" and "The Plot against the Peace"

With a special introduction by Senator CLAUDE PEPPER

Senator CLAUDE PEPPER says: *"The most important book of the day. It should have the widest possible distribution. It is required reading for every American and British statesman, and, for that matter, for every citizen of both countries."*

"A strange and frightening story, backed up with a vast array of documented evidence, intrigue, sabotage, terror."
—*Newsweek*

NOW IN A DOLLAR EDITION!
Read it yourself, of course! But don't stop there! This is a book to give to your friends. It is a weapon for peace!

BONI & GAER
15 E. 40th St., New York 16, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

provide world leadership. To a hysterically greater extent, that precursor of Nazism, Treitschke, and the gifted but fantastically nationalistic Dostoevsky saw in their homelands nations destined to mastery of the globe. In this portrait gallery of five prophets, the only one who seems quite sane is the Englishman, Mill, who could truthfully say, as could no other of the five, that he cared less for national greatness than for the expansion of liberty.

What was the poison with which the other four infected Europe? Mazzini, dreaming of the unification of Italy and of the world, dreamed also of what he called "a provisional dictatorial power, concentrated in the hands of a small number of men." Well, his dream came true at last. Italy got her "provisional dictatorial power" and the results are scarred and slashed across that classic peninsula from Naples to Bologna.

Treitschke, who started life as a liberal, worked for a dictatorial rule more clearly and openly than Mazzini. He worried about mixing "the dirty Slav pap [of the Hapsburgs] with our clean German waters." He fretted as to whether "our European continent will be able in the future to defend its position against America. . . ." In his *Preussische Jahrbücher* he scrawled anti-Semitic tirades and gloated as German hoodlums surged through the cities of the coalescing Reich, screaming, as they screamed again almost a century later, *Jude verrecke, Jude verrecke!*"

And, like his followers under Hitler, he foresaw a world divided between Russia and the English-speaking peoples: "It is hard to say whether the Russian knout or the English moneybags would be . . . worse. . . ." Above all, he argued for the unification of the German states and declared that if necessary "German must march against German" to achieve this goal. As for the liberalism of his youth, Treitschke summed up in a letter in the fateful year of 1870: "We must become more radical in questions of unity and more conservative in questions of liberty."

Dostoevsky, with his Hitlerian anti-Semitism and his manic-depressive view of the world beyond Russia's borders, becomes in Dr. Kohn's book, as indeed he was in so many of his writings, quite as revolting a nationalist lunatic as Treitschke, although, admittedly, a lunatic strangely blessed with artistic genius.

To look back upon the crucible years of nineteenth-century nationalism is to conclude that, ravening as were many of our grandsires, we are worse. Despite the lessons of war, despite the League and the UN, the old insanity of nationalism is still a rotting disease in the collective conscience of Man. This writer has covered all the meetings of the Security Council since they began last March at Hunter College and has quailed at the monstrous nationalistic schemes which lurk behind piously worded statements of high purpose daily put forth by this delegate or that.

Hans Kohn's book, though limited in scope, is a fine volume of sources for the student of nationalism. A better source, however, would be today's issue—or any day's issue —of your favorite morning paper. As it will show you, compared with some of the men at Hunter College, Treitschke and his contemporaries were pikers.

DENIS PLIMMER

MARTINSON'S
"LOVE THAT COFFEE"

A Reader's List

Planning No. 250: The Social Use of Sample Surveys (Political and Economic Planning. Available through the New Republic, *25 cents.*) Accurate knowledge of social behavior, says PEP, is a *sine qua non* for government participation in the life of the people. Such knowledge might be obtained through census-taking, case studies or statistical sampling. In this broadsheet the editors are concerned with the sampling device. They describe in easily understood terms the general technique of the social survey and cite numerous examples of wartime studies. Analyses of household food budgets, ration-point expenditures, clothing, heating appliances and housing illustrate the usefulness of the survey as a guide for public policy. Some persons, PEP remarks, object that sampling is unreliable and that surveys invade privacy. Careful handling of materials, however, expands our knowledge of environment, habits, attitudes and social opinion; that is ample justification. A technical section outlines the mechanics of sampling, questionnaire construction, pilot surveys, interviewing and final analysis.

The New Poland, by Irving Brant (Universe, $1.50). This little book contains, for the most part, the dispatches which the author sent to the Chicago *Sun* during a visit to Poland last fall. When he describes living conditions in the war-ravaged country, when he reports interviews with political leaders, when he puts down what he saw and heard, Brant does an excellent job. There are objective chapters on Poland's food needs in the transition period from war to peace, on the difficulties of repatriation, on the causes of continued anti-Semitism, on the industrial revival and political arrests. He believes that Poland is moving toward an economic system which, while it socializes big business and finance, will also retain the features of private enterprise in small industries, trade and agriculture. Whether or not this analysis is correct is an open question. Poland's geographical proximity to the Soviet Union, with the resulting politico-economic ties, and the possibility of increasing internal opposition may force the present leadership to adopt a more radical program which would have its precedent in Russia's Five-Year Plans following the New Economic Policy.

Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement, by George E. Mowry (Wisconsin, $4). Mr. Mowry's revealing study focuses on the period in TR's career which followed his retirement from the presidency. More specifically, it is the story of how Roosevelt wooed, captured and wrecked the Progressive Party. Mr. Mowry tries hard to be balanced and objective, and though not blind to his hero's infirmities, he is far more sympathetic toward Roosevelt than either Pringle or Josephson. It is all the more significant that his account in no way forces us to discount the derogatory estimates of these two recent commentators. Reading his painstaking record of the events preceding World War I, and Roosevelt's participation in them, we can better understand the bitterness of La Follette toward his betrayer and the implications of Mark Hanna's explosive designation of McKinley's successor as "that damned cowboy." Despite Mr. Mowry's well meant extenuations and the new and interesting information he brings to light, Roosevelt's fundamental conservatism cannot be concealed. He was at bottom no true progressive but an opportunist, a press agent for reform.

A Solo in Tom-Toms, by Gene Fowler (Viking, $3). All of Mr. Fowler's well known talents are in evidence in this

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

autobiography: his Dickensian zest for odd characters, his affability, his unfailing good humor. There is an unending procession of anecdotes about tight-rope walkers, Rocky Mountain scouts, Denver trollops, prospectors, tea-tasters, dogs and parrots. Paul Whiteman drops in now and then, as do Judge Lindsey, Jack Dempsey and John Reed. And there is an especially fine portrait of Mr. Fowler's grandmother, a granitelike frontierswoman with a Victorian exterior. Mr. Fowler views his boyhood through a golden haze, and sometimes you wish he would temper the joy of it all, and the poignancy of it all, and throw in a little ordinary unhappiness. And unload some of the more painful metaphors, too, like that one about the breaking of the fallen icicles setting up a glockenspiel discord.

The Portable Irish Reader, edited by Diarmuid Russell (*Viking*, $2). A generous selection of Irish writing from its murky beginnings, through the Celtic twilight, to the present barren darkness. Shaw's refusal to give permission to reprint any of his work, the relatively small portions of Yeats and Joyce and the complete omission of O'Casey will annoy some readers, but on the whole the editor has neatly combined the necessary choices with some pleasant surprises—the ultimate test of an anthology of this type.

The Pursuit of Love, by Nancy Mitford (*Random*, $2.50). One of the least publicized members of a notorious British family has contributed a pleasant item to the endless stream of comic novels about English landed families. It can be recommended to those who read certain books at this time of year that they might ignore in the cooler seasons.

We Happy Few, by Helen Howe (*Simon and Schuster*, $2.75). The Harvard faculty, particularly the Department of English, gets a rather rough going-over in this novel by the author of *The Whole Heart*. Fortunately no one is hurt, since Miss Howe unhappily lives up to a sentence in her introductory note: "It is an impersonation of imaginary characters."

Crime and Punishment

With Bated Breath, by Alice Campbell (*Random*, $2). Avis Marriott, American girl in wartime England, takes a job as companion-housekeeper with the wealthy Misses Bolles: Maude, the local philanthropist but domestic miser, and Erica, the eccentric recluse. Avis, who finds a creepy atmosphere and a very queer group of people at The Turrets, is soon convinced that there is a plot afoot against Miss Erica's life. Her efforts to protect

ANNOUNCING A NEW EDITORIAL PROJECT—THE AMERICAN JOURNALISM SERIES

THE KANSAS CITY STAR. A Literary Enormity that Parades its Benign, Pontifical Purity and Saintliness. By Charles H. Hogan, Kansas City newspaperman. This charming, delightful, amusing, bone-crushing, eye-gouging manifesto contains the following scabrous, blistering, merciless chapters:

1. The Cathedral of Frustrated Journalism. 2. The "Star Style." 3. A Plunge Into a Bubbling Fountain of Bilge. 4. The Woman's Page—A New High in Journalistic Obscenity. 5. Lord Roberts—All-Powerful Deity. 6. The Star's Limited News Coverage. 7. William Allen White—the Saintly Star's Pet Disciple. 8. The Oracle of the Jesus-Shouters. 9. The Star's Rape of Myrtle. 10. The Star's Snake-Phobia. 11. The Star's Chaste, Virginal Editorial Department. (The second part of this booklet contains the following chapters.) 12. Kansas City—Hick Town on the Kaw. 13. Smut-Smellers Take Over the Bordellos. 14. Kansas City's Final Fling Before It Turned Saintly. 15. The Star's Angelic Battle for Pure Womanhood. 16. Pope Roberts' Citadel of Godliness. 17. Sunday in the Star's Bailiwick. 18. The Star's Brand of Uplift Is on the Boom.

THE KANSAS CITY STAR costs only 25c per copy, prepaid.

THE NEW YORK TIMES EXPOSED. Is There a Free Press? Where? In America? In Russia? A Critical Examination of Capitalism's Greatest Newspaper, by Walther Victor.

This important booklet discusses the most fundamental of all freedoms—that of expression, the press. Without a free press true freedom is impossible. Here we have a complete, factual survey of the cartelization of the mind of America by a few score people who dominate the press. At the top stands *The New York Times*, a paper that is an institution, that wields tremendous influence, and that is recognized as the best-edited capitalistic organ in all printing history. The *Times* represents capitalistic journalism at its best, and it is precisely for this reason that the author—Mr. Walther Victor—takes up its policies regarding freedom of expression for purposes of analysis and criticism. Let's not forget that Mr. Sulzberger, publisher of the *Times*, said, according to the author of this essay, that freedom of the press to him means the right for him to print what he pleases, and if you little people don't like it, you can—what? You can PRINT A HANDBILL!

Mr. Victor shows that, in plain English, the *Times*' policy means: You may have just as much freedom of speech and expression as you are able to pay for. This is an important situation that Mr. Victor is treating—it really amounts to this: your and my freedom of speech and expression may mean peace rather than a third World War. The *Times* is more subtle, intelligent, dignified and efficient than the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson-Gannett poison press—and that's what makes it much more dangerous to those who really believe in freedom of expression.

THE NEW YORK TIMES EXPOSED costs 25c per copy, prepaid.

THE CASE AGAINST THE McCORMICK-NEW YORK NEWS PRESS. Sampling *The Chicago Tribune* and *N. Y. Daily News* Fascist Propaganda Line Over a Period of Years. By L. M. Birkhead, Director, Friends of Democracy.

While this book devotes itself mainly to Robert R. McCormick's *Chicago Tribune* and the *N. Y. Daily News*, Dr. Birkhead writes plenty about "Cissy" Patterson's *Washington Times-Herald* and the Hearst press.

The behavior of these papers represents one of the most flagrant cases of editorial irresponsibility in the history of our country. These papers feed prejudice, bigotry, distrust and defeatism to the American people day after day.

Here are some of the chapter headings you'll find in this book by Dr. Birkhead:

1. And What Do You Call "Aiding the Enemy," Gentlemen? 2. The Daily Drip of Poison of the McCormick-New York News-Hearst Press. 3. We Speak for Angry Americans. 4. McCormick is Pro-Axis; the Axis is Pro-McCormick. 5. Check-List for Inkpot Sabotage. 6. What About Inkpot "Aid to the Enemy," Mr. McCormick? 7. The Chicago Tribune's Anti-Semitism. 8. McCormick's Anti-British and Anti-Russian Propaganda. 9. McCormick—Defender of Seditionists. 10. McCormick's Pro-Native Fascism. 11. Sabotaging the Peace. 12. The Fascists Work for the New York News. 13. How the New York News is Useful to the Fascists. 14. Hitler Echoed the New York News. 15. The New York News Paralleled Hitler. 16. The Nazi-German Line and the New York News Line. 17. The N. Y. Daily News' Defense of Jap Fascism.

This pamphlet, "THE CASE AGAINST THE McCORMICK-NEW YORK NEWS PRESS (15,000 words, 5½ x 8½ inches), is hot as a pistol and as timely as a good newspaper. L. M. Birkhead knows more about McCormick and the New York News than any other man in the country. Thoroughly documented. Here's a complete exposure of the most sinister element in American life—a force that would destroy American democracy and make the world safe for totalitarianism, 25c per copy, prepaid.

Each of these three booklets contains 15,000 words, page size 5½ x 8½ inches. 25c per copy. *All three booklets* 75c, prepaid.

E. HALDEMAN-JULIUS, Box 2326, GIRARD, KANSAS

AMERICAN JOURNALISM SERIES

E. Haldeman-Julius, Box 2326, Girard, Kansas

Enclosed find 75c, payment in full for all three journalism booklets, as follows: 1. *The Kansas City Star.* (25c.) 2. *The New York Times Exposed.* (25c.) 3. *The Case Against the McCormick-New York News Press.* (25c.) Prepaid.

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS

Editorials
The United Nations and Atomic Control . . 915
Big Business Gets Bigger 917
Semi-Public Officials 918
Inflation Is Here 919
Washington Wire . . . . . T. R. B. 920
Political Roundup 921
Facts About the National Economy 922
General Articles
Are Railroads Above the Law? . . . . . Nathan Robertson 924
The Greatest Guys in the World . . . . . Michael Straight 926
The Ku Klux Klan
I. What To Do About It . . . . . Stetson Kennedy 928
II. My Father and the Klan . . . . . Evelyn Miller Crowell 930
Ilya Ehrenburg on American Writers . . . . . Kathleen Scofield Louchheim 931
Britain, the Arabs and the Jews . . . . . R. H. S. Crossman 932
The Lightning Hits Billy Conn . . . . . Jimmy Cannon 934
The Bandwagon 935
Correspondence 935
Books in Review
The Soviet Economy . . Paul M. Sweezy 937
Happy Birthday . . . . Isaac Rosenfeld 938
Five Men, Five Nations . . Denis Plimmer 939
A Reader's List 940
Crime and Punishment . . . . . E. H. 941
New Republic News 942

her charge involve her in two murders, and it takes Scotland Yard to solve the curious case. An ingenious baffler with well maintained suspense.

Shoot If You Must, by Richard Powell (*Simon and Schuster, $2*). Well, the Blakes—Arab and Andy—are in again and the pattern is the same: Arab panting after excitement and danger, and Andy futilely trying to preserve the one life God gave him. Arab wins, of couse, and Andy is dragged into a lively affray with a gang of jewel thieves (duplication of priceless Cellini items a specialty). There are Nazi overtones and, since the Blakes are in antic form, you'll probably have fun.

Bitter Ending, by Alexander Irving (*Dodd, Mead, $2*). Claude Madison, medical-school factotum, financially—if not artistically—successful surgeon and local wolf, dies of strychnine poisoning in the college dissection lab. Several of his colleagues are implicated, and it takes extremely clever work by one of them, Dr. Anthony Post, to solve an intricate puzzle. Mr. Irving is a newcomer worth watching. E. H.

New Republic News

A decent interval having passed since we first read "We Take You Now to Bikini" (June 24 issue), we come out from under the desk, where it's not much good trying to type anyhow, to tell you how the people around the *NR* are facing the implications of the upcoming disturbance in the Marshalls:

Assistant editor Heinz Eulau got married;

T. R. B.'s copy came in on time;

The thirteen-year-old "applicant for the job of Saturday secretary"("*NR* News," June 3) came around to our Washington office, dusted off some of the stacks of *Congressional Records*, discussed the merits of *Point Counter-Point* with Rusti, our Monday-through-Sunday Washington secretary, then suddenly dumped her own small atom bomb into Rusty's lap with the serious question, "Did you neck when you were thirteen?"

Helen Fuller picked up the telephone, dialed one of her Washington contacts and said, "Joe, isn't it about time we started doing something about the 1948 election?"

Al Friendly is a graying young man with a jaunty bow tie, the weight of the world's atomic worries on his mind and Jim Newman, the "Chain-Reacting Liberal" (*New Republic*, June 24), in his hair. The other day at one of the *NR* Washington lunches, where the capital's best-informed journalists get together to help us thrash out issues, Al suddenly rushed away from the table to telephone his wife at the X-ray clinic.

Al looked a little like Billy Conn as he stumbled back to his seat. He played around with the chicken salad for a couple of minutes, then mumbled, "Twins. With the OPA gone, it's going to be twins."

"Congratulations, Al," we said.

"Counting the other three kids, that'll make seven in the family," he answered.

We paid the check.

• • •

Paul M. Sweezy is the author of *The Theory of Capitalist Development*, a second printing of which, with a long new preface, will shortly be issued by the Oxford University Press.

Denis Plimmer, a former editor of the Overseas Branch of the OWI and a Foreign News Editor of *Time*, is completing a book on Russian foreign policy, to be published by Dodd, Mead. He is at present in England on an assignment for the New York *Post*.

Isaac Rosenfeld, a former member of the *New Republic* staff, is the author of a novel, *Passage from Home*, published this spring by Dial Press.

MARTINSON'S
"LOVE THAT COFFEE"

THE NEW REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

Editors: BRUCE BLIVEN, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG
Managing Editor: NORMAN GRIESER
Treasurer: DANIEL MEBANE
Assistant Editors: HEINZ EULAU, HELEN FULLER, ELIZABETH HULING, RALPH G. MARTIN, GEORGE MAYBERRY
Contributing Editors: H. N. BRAILSFORD, MALCOLM COWLEY, JULIAN HUXLEY, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL
Advertising Manager: E. G. WOOD

SINGLE COPIES, FIFTEEN CENTS; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, SIX DOLLARS; CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION, SEVEN DOLLARS; FOREIGN, SEVEN DOLLARS; TEN WEEKS' TRIAL, ONE DOLLAR

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAL WALLIS

The producer of "Casablanca," "Love Letters" and "Saratoga Trunk" now brings you

ROBERT YOUNG
SYLVIA SYDNEY
ANN RICHARDS
in "THE

Searching Wind"

From the Successful Broadway Play by
LILLIAN HELLMAN
with
DUDLEY DIGGES
and introducing
DOUGLAS DICK
a HAL WALLIS Production
Directed by
William Dieterle
Screenplay by
Lillian Hellman
A Paramount Picture

★

— In Person —
The Singing Sensation of 1946
ANDY
RUSSELL
PLUS
ALEN
CARNEY
JACK WILLIAMS
THE PIED PIPERS
Extra Added Attraction
RAYMOND
SCOTT
and His Thrilling
NEW 1946 BAND

★

Midnight Feature Nightly

NOW *PARAMOUNT* TIMES SQUARE

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST. near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO *NOW*

"Entertainment at its subtle best!" —*N. Y. World-Telegram.*

DARRYL F. ZANUCK *Presents*

GENE TIERNEY • VINCENT PRICE

'DRAGONWYCK'

From ANYA SETON'S Novel

— AND —

'DING DONG WILLIAMS'
MARCY McGUIRE • GLENN VERNON

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU Coney Island

Queens
Keith's FLUSHING
Keith's RICH. HILL
STRAND Far Rockaway

Manhattan
COLONIAL B'way & 62 St.

"Tender drama of the Bronte Family." —*N. Y. Sun*

IDA LUPINO • PAUL HENREID

OLIVIA De HAVILLAND • SYDNEY GREENSTREET

'Devotion'

— AND —

'FALCON'S ALIBI' TOM CONWAY RITA CORDAY

WILL JAMES'

'SMOKY'

IN TECHNICOLOR
STARRING
FRED MacMURRAY
with **ANNE BAXTER** And introducing the Singing Troubadour **BURL IVES**
A 20th CENTURY-FOX PICTURE

— ON STAGE — IN PERSON —

DONALD O'CONNOR
•
THE THREE SWIFTS
•
EXTRA! **BUSTER SHAVER**

COOL
Now Playing **ROXY** 7th Ave. at 50th Street

NOW
RKO
ALBEE
FULTON & DE KALB BROOKLYN

Maureen O'HARA • Dick HAYMES • Harry JAMES

'DO YOU LOVE ME'

IN TECHNICOLOR

— AND —

'DARK CORNER' Lucille BALL William BENDIX

STAGE PLAY

"A smash hit of enormous proportions." — *Ward Morehouse, Sun.*

MAX GORDON *presents*

BORN YESTERDAY

The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH. 4-4258
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:40. AIR-COND.

CABINS

GRANITE LAKE CABINS for adults. Swimming, boating, fishing. Good food. Private baths. June 30 to Sept. 16. From $80.00 weekly, double. American Plan. Box 77, Munsonville, New Hampshire.

TOBACCO

CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.40 per carton; postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange B, N. J.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE FOR PERIODICALS by asking me for any number at a time. Pay after 1 bill you at publishers' lowest prices. Catalog NR, free. John Crehore, Postbox 2329-B, Washington 13, D. C.

GOOD USED BOOKS

History, Biography, Art, Fiction, Languages, Poetry, etc., etc.

H. H. Evans, Bookseller
3319 Sacramento St., San Francisco 18
Free Catalogs Mailed on Request

LANGUAGES

ALL LANGUAGES. Phonograph Courses. Linguaphone, other makes. Sold, bought, rented. A. A. Alin, 475 5th Avenue, New York 17. MU. 3-1093.

29 LANGUAGES by Linguaphone, Russian, Spanish, Portuguese—Direct conversational method of mastering any language quickly, easily, correctly at home. Send for FREE book. LINGUAPHONE INSTITUTE, 86 RCA Bldg., New York. CI. 7-0830.

RESORTS

SCHROON Crest
"In The Adirondacks" Petersville, N. Y.
SPECIAL RATES UNTIL JULY 7th
Private Beach. Canoes. Boating. All Sports. Recordings. Playhouse. Bar. Dancing Nightly. **Jules Adolphe & His Group, Harry Aishin & Orchestra.** Excellent Cuisine • Make Reservations Early
N. Y. City Off.: PHONE, MAin 4-8570
LEAH OKUN — IRV. SCHOENBERG, Mgt.
An Adult Resort — On SCHROON LAKE

MERRIEWOODE
A Camp for Adults **Stoddard, N. H.**
FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery croquet, ping-pong, square dancing.
$45 & $50 weekly. OLIVE H. G. BARON, Dir

Printed by STEINBERG PRESS, INC., Morgan & Johnson Aves., Brooklyn 6, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

By
GEORGE
TABORI

Companions of the Left Hand

Whether this novel is read for the sheer sustained excitement of the narrative, or considered as a powerful indictment of the unpolitical man, it is a wholly compelling story.

Farkas, a celebrated playwright, urbane and disillusioned, moves to a small Italian resort town in 1943, hoping to keep clear of the sucking maelstrom of war. But events in San Fernando are shaping a swiftly terrible denouement, and Farkas finds that he must assume the leading role on this microcosmic stage.

George Tabori is an imaginative writer of sharp and enduring impact. COMPANIONS OF THE LEFT HAND, his second book to be published in America, lives up magnificently to the promise of BENEATH THE STONE.

At all bookstores. $2.75 HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY · PUBLISHERS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED